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**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

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## Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

### *THE SUPERSTITION OF FANATICISM.*

From the N. Y. Daily News.

THE cunning hypocrisy of the Abolition fanatics, who are now ruling this country, to its ruin, is among the most disgusting of their vices. Montaigne, in one of his essays, says, very truly, "that fanatics live, move and think in an atmosphere of their own conformation. The delusion so produced is sometimes deplorable; sometimes ridiculous; always remediless. No events are too great or too little to be construed by such persons into peculiar or providential corroborations or consequences of their own morbid hallucinations." Among the most startling of these hallucinations is the idea that this war was designed by Providence as a scourge for the sin of slavery, and that through the sufferings and ruin produced by it this nation is to be brought to a realizing sense of its sin, and that only through immediate emancipation can the Divine judgments be averted and the Divine justice satisfied. These fanatics are always hasty in declaring the judgments of Heaven, and whenever a disaster befalls their neighbors they can lay their finger upon the particular sin it is sent to punish, always having the comfortable assurance that the sin that is most obnoxious to them must of necessity be equally obnoxious to the Almighty. If slavery was so great a sin, how comes it that through its agency this country attained the greatest amount of prosperity in the shortest space of time any nation ever attained? If slavery was a sin, how happened it that we attributed to providential interference the success of a nation of slaveholders over the efforts of Great Britain to subjugate them? Where slept the thunders of Divine vengeance when a convention of slaveholders guaranteed the right of property in slaves in the Constitution that they formed? The fact is, these descendants of the canting Puritans of the Cromwellian age are strict imitators of the impatience and blasphemy of the men from whose loins they have sprung. They gave the force of divine judgments to the results of their own corrupt and wicked imaginings; and quarreled and scolded at God if everything did not conform to what they thought should be the result of events. It was a Puritan preacher, who, when Cromwell died, uttered the following startling blasphemy before his congregation: "Thou promised him a long life, O Lord, but thou hast lied unto us, and done despite to thy own power." In what, pray, does this prayer differ from that offered up by Sunderland, who was Chaplain of the Senate after the disastrous battle of Chancellorsville, when he said: "Oh Lord, thou hast given success to our enemies, and therein thou hast almost made us to question thy justice." These mad fanatics would penetrate the very council chambers of the Triune God, and endeavor to lift the veil which He, in His wisdom, has chosen to cover His ways from the sight of us, poor, erring mortals. The pulpit, demoralized and fanatical, through the devilish inspirations of this war, has done much to encourage this impious spirit among the people. Let any right-minded man take up the discourses that have emanated from the loyal pulpits during the progress of this struggle and read them without a shudder if he can. They are impious in their tone, hectoring in their style, and narrow, contracted and ignorant in their treatment of the subjects discussed. The modern loyal divine shows his love for man by justifying the breaking of his cardinal laws; he then seeks to glorify a God of mercy by worshipping him as a Moloch who delights in human sacrifices; and would, if the opportunity was afforded him, cheerfully roast his neighbor's body for the good of his soul. In the meantime the terrible effect produced by such teaching and teachers goes on in the gradual annihilation of all true religion in the nation. All around us are the terrible evidences of the effect of such a condition of things. Demoralization everywhere, in all the ranks of society, in public and private, are the results. True religion and undefiled has taken refuge in the closet, having fled from the gaudy churches, where it is desecrated, and where so many wolves in sheep's clothing are to be found leading the flocks to destruction.

### *NEGRO EMANCIPATION.*

From the N. Y. Daily News.

THE absurdity of the negro emancipation scheme is patent to every mind except that of an Abolition fanatic. The Abolitionists cannot raise the negro of the South to our level; he cannot take care of himself amid the energetic struggles of a superior race. He would sink to lower depths than his original barbarism, and the millions of his race would become an intolerable mass of ignorance, degradation and pauperism. He must be governed, guided, cared for; and slavery, which gives him a governor and care-taker, does not depress but elevate him. It supplies the want of his nature, a directing mind. Without slavery he will fall into a state far worse for him: that of a slave without a master.

In contact or competition with the white race he would be everybody's slave, and no one would be bound by duty or interest to support and protect him. The slaves of the South are not without religious instruction, and the arts of industry which they were taught, and their association with the white race constituted an education, imperfect indeed, but superior to that of Africa; and without slavery they would get none at all. They have been elevated by this education. The race now with us is superior to its brethren in Africa, to its ancestors who first landed on our shores. This is well known, and is made manifest whenever the native African is brought to our shores in slave ships. The evil arises from the nature of the negro, and not from slavery, and that these fanatics ignore. He makes no spontaneous or intellectual progress, whether as slave or free; he never has made any in his native regions. He has never risen, at any period of his history, even to the low grade of Chinese civilization. He acquires no arts; he builds no cities or ships; he invents no machinery; he paints no pictures; he writes no books; he makes no laws; he cannot appreciate truth or beauty, and he is a fetich worshipper at all times and all places if left to himself.

He is naturally a savage and a heathen, and can only enjoy in Africa such happiness as belongs to that condition. There is no supernatural power or magic about Emancipation proclamations, to set aside natural laws. There is no secret efficacy in Freemen's Aid Societies to accomplish miracles, and the fanaticism that thinks there is will be doomed to a bitter disappointment in the future. In its mad efforts to accomplish the impossible, it has already drenched the land with blood, and involved us and our posterity in a debt, whose frightful weight will rest like an incubus upon the loins of the labor and enterprise of this generation, and those of our remotest posterity. The misery that it has entailed upon the poor slaves comes to us in the frightful details of his destitution and cruel sufferings in the freedom extended to him wherever his shackles have been struck from his limbs.

Talk of the horrors of the middle passage. They are tame in comparison with the sufferings the emancipated slaves are now undergoing in the South. In Louisiana alone, Banks reports some eighty thousand have died from destitution already. What a commentary this upon the humanity and wisdom of the wicked factions who have involved us in this horrid war, for no other object than such emancipation as this, and who, with Lincoln at their head, are now unwilling to make peace, to stop the frightful carnage of the white race of the North, unless universal emancipation of the black race of the South is secured.

### *THE OVERTHROW OF A GOVERNMENT THE WORK OF INFERIOR MINDS.*

From the N. Y. Daily News.

THE fanatical Abolitionists of the North, after years of persevering labor, have succeeded in subverting the liberty of the white race in their mad zeal for securing the freedom of the black or inferior race. The cry of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality," in revolutionary France, eventually led to the entire overthrow of all governmental restraint and the establishment of an anarchy whose blood-stained footsteps, upon the historic page, the student starts back from with horror. Fanaticism never evokes the higher powers of the human mind. It is so narrow and contracted, in its mental vision, that there is, in reality, nothing great or lofty for the mental powers to operate upon. Hence, it will be found in history, that fanaticism destroys and weakens governments, never builds up. Appealing to the passions, more than the reason, it makes revolutions, but never accomplishes beneficent reforms. Pindar, in one of his poems, very felicitously says: "It is an easy task for men of inferior abilities and slender worth to shake a country from its foundations; but to place it firmly again upon its basis is an enterprise of no common difficulty, of no instantaneous accomplishment, unless the Divinity vouchsafe his indulgent coöperation to the rulers."

We have an illustration of the sagacity of observation of the pagan poet in the men now in power in our own time. For some wise purpose of his own, God has permitted the government of this country to pass for a time into the hands of fanatical idealists, who have manifested the proclivities which have shown themselves in the fanatics of all ages to destroy, but not to reform. The Abolition leaders have clearly exhibited the truth of the saying of Pindar, "that it is an easy task for men of inferior abilities and slender worth to shake a country from its foundations." It remains to be seen whether the future has in store the development of that immense ability which is requisite to build up a nation from the ruins fanaticism has created, and whether Providence will smile upon such an effort.

## Selections.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

#### LETTER

FROM

JOSEPH P. BRADLEY, ESQ., OF NEW JERSEY,

TO

MR. CHARLES KNAP,

*On the question of the number of States requisite to Ratify an Amendment to the Constitution.*

NOTE.—The publication of the following letter at this time calls for no apology. The subject is so important in itself, and the views contained in the letter impressed me as so conclusive, that it seemed to me eminently proper to give them publicity, and, at my urgent request, the writer has given his consent to such disposition of it.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1865. C. KNAP.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1865.

MY DEAR KNAP: Agreeably to your request, I proceed to jot down the substance of the views expressed in our conversation to-day, in relation to the number of States required to ratify the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. I apprehend you will find very little that is new, as most right-thinking men, who have given attention to the subject, have undoubtedly come to the same conclusion. But the persistency with which certain leading journals and politicians detract from the just authority of the government and the validity of its proceedings as being unconstitutional, on the plea that certain integral and essential elements of the Confederacy (as they love to term it) are not represented, renders it proper, and it is high time that all such heresies should be put down by the American people. While we are at the work of restoring and reinaugurating the truth, which has so long been concealed in the deep well of Virginia abstractions, we should strangle each head of that hydra of error which has led our country to the verge of destruction. If, from motives of expediency or clemency, we should conclude, in any case, to *waive* the truth, we ought, at least, to *recognise* it, and place it upon its own proper pedestal. A different course will only lead to misunderstandings and embarrassments hereafter. I consider the doctrine that a State, by withdrawing from the Union, can produce any deficiency in the "quorum," or other derangement of the organic functions, so as to render constitutionally nugatory any action or proceeding of the government, quite as repugnant to all just ideas of constitutional law, as is the doctrine of secession itself. And, therefore, I entirely concur in the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Sumner in the joint resolution offered by him in the Senate on the 4th instant, that the rebellious States are not to be counted in estimating the number of States, of which three-fourths are required to ratify and validate the Amendment in question. Whether it would, or would not be politic to count them, is a different question which I do not discuss.

Congress having, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, proposed this amendment to the Legislatures of the several States, the fifth article of the Constitution declares, that "when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of *the several States*," it will be valid as a part of the Constitution. The question is, What are "*the several States*" intended in that article? I contend they are those, and only those, States which are connected with the Union *as States* when the amendment is passed upon.

It is certainly clear that the Constitution did not refer merely to the thirteen States which were then organized, and in confederate relations with each other. It might have been only nine of those States, had only nine adopted the Constitution; and as the power to admit new States is expressly given, it may be a hundred, if so many shall at any time be formed under the Constitution. Otherwise the object of the clause, namely, to secure a large preponderance of the body politic in favor of an amendment before giving it validity, would be frustrated. If three-fourths of the original thirteen were meant, ten of the old States could at any time ratify an amendment which would bind, perchance, a hundred States. This could not have been the intent. The clause, therefore, must have respect to the States which, in the sense of the Constitution, are, or shall be, *States* whenever an amendment is proposed, whether they include all or do not include any of the original thirteen.

This point being established, the next proposition, equally clear and demonstrable, is, that although there may be and is such a thing as actual secession, there is no such thing as a *right of secession*, any more than there is a right of rebellion or revolution. The word "right" indicates a liberty of action or possession guarantied by the social law, that is, the law which binds civil society together. But revolution is an abrogation of the preëxisting bond of civil society. The very provision for making amendments to the Constitution was intended to obviate every pretence for revolution. Now, by adopting the Constitution, the people of the United States erased and abrogated all State jurisdiction in the matters of sovereignty embraced within the scope of that instrument, and, in so many words, declared: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, etc., shall be *the supreme law of the land*." These portions of the general sovereignty were lodged in the General government, not as a fief to be *holden* by any sort of *tenure* of or from the State sovereignties, but as the undoubted prerogative and *allodium* of the whole people of the United States, independent, outside of, and above the State sovereignties; so that, in very truth, the Constitution and laws of the Federal government became, in their nature, as they were thus declared to be, "*the supreme law of the land*." After this no State had or could have any right to secede. To do so would be to set at naught or at defiance "the supreme law of the land," which no State can repeal, and over which no State has control. Within the constitutional scope, which embraces all the most important branches of national sovereignty, such as the foreign relations, war, peace, army, navy, controversies between the States themselves, commerce, citizenship, money, weights and measures, etc., there is but one country, one "land," and one "supreme law of the land." Just as well might any county in a State claim a right to secede from the State, as for a State to claim the right to secede from the Union. The attempt in either case would be an attempt to disrupt the bands of civil society as organized in that community of which the seceding body is a part. A State is a limited and subordinate sovereignty—limited and subordinate, because destitute of those transcendent powers which more particularly characterize nationality. Those powers have, by the ultimate source of political power—a source superior to that from which any State power is derived, namely: the whole people of the United States—been lodged in a separate and superior government. And hence, if a State could lawfully secede, it would only carry with it legitimately those subordinate branches of sovereignty which it possesses, and which are not lodged in the General government. It is true, countries and peoples formerly one do sometimes violently separate from each other. But it is revolution when they do so; and it is revolution here.

But while there is no such thing as a right of secession, and while, in all national respects, as before said, we are one people, and this is one country, yet in the eye of the Constitution, the States for many purposes have separate existence and status as such. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people of the several States—no Congressional district being formed from two States; each State is entitled to a certain number of Representatives and Senators; each State owes certain constitutional duties to the other States and to the General government; and the General government owes certain duties to the States, one of which is to guarantee to every one of them a republican form of government, and to protect them from invasion and domestic violence. The States, therefore, having a separate existence, and being clothed with the forms of political sovereignty, and acting in all domestic and internal matters as independent communities, they can, *de facto*, secede, and by their actual secession cause a vacancy in the associated circle of communities forming the United States, which is calculated to embarrass a fair exposition of constitutional rights and duties both of the General and State governments. This is the difficulty to be solved.

Now, suppose a single State in the national body politic—Maryland, for example—should, through all its organism, popular, legislative, executive, judicial, secede from the Union, and repudiate the Constitution, and forcibly prevent the exercise of any Federal authority in her territory, what would be the status of that State? The territory of the State would of course remain where it was in spite of secession, and the inhabitants would remain upon the territory. But the State does not consist merely of the one nor of the other, nor of both, without a certain political organization. If, for example, all the inhabitants of that State, with their entire political organization, should remove to the Western plains, and there continue their social and political life, they would no longer be the State of Maryland; and on the other hand, without inhabitants and a certain organized community, the territory of Maryland would cease to be a State. It would be the territory which was once called the State of Maryland, but it would cease to be such. Yet it would not be out of the United States, nor free from the laws of the United States; nor would it be so by the supposed act of secession.

With this preliminary observation, I ask again, what would be the status of Maryland after thus seceding from the Union? What would be the status of her territory and its inhabitants? Are they any longer a "*State*" within the meaning of the Constitution? They may be *de facto* a State, in the popular sense of the term; but are they a State in the constitutional sense? Are they entitled to the rights which the Constitution secures to "*the several States*"? When a citizen of Maryland, for example, should come into any other State, would he be entitled, any longer, to all the privileges and immunities of its own citizens? Do we concede this privilege, now, to citizens of Alabama? May they come within our lines, and take rooms at our hotels, and trade and converse with our people? And in the hypothetical case of Maryland, would the General government any longer be bound to guarantee to her a republican form of government? Would the other States be bound to return her fugitives from justice and her fugitives from service? Would they be bound to give full faith and credit to her legislative acts and judicial proceedings? Would the Supreme Court be bound to hear and decide her controversies with the other States? If Maryland, under such circumstances, should send two persons to the Senate of the United States, and demand that they should sit in that body, would it be allowed? To ask these questions is to answer them. It would be absurd to answer them in the affirmative. It is an intuitive principle, growing out of the very nature of right, and obligation, and law, and therefore a fundamental maxim of all codes, that he who violates, repudiates, and contemns a contract, cannot claim its collateral advantages. If it is a lease of land, he loses all claim to the land. If it is an agreement, he can claim no benefit from the agreement. As respects the bond repudiated, he is an alien; he has no rights, and no claims, except upon the clemency of the other party. So he who repudiates and contemns the social bond, and wages war against mankind, is a pirate, and is entitled to the protection of no law, for the very reason that he has repudiated all law. And so, in the case supposed, Maryland, by repudiating and trampling upon the bond of our national social compact, would be no longer entitled to any of the benefits or any of the considerations of that compact. She puts herself out of the pale of the Constitution, and shuts her mouth to all objections arising out of her wrongful position.

Then what, in relation to the Federal Constitution and government, would be her condition and status? Though she has seceded in fact, she cannot secede in law; and yet having seceded in fact, she—that is, her people—are entitled to no regards as "a State." And there lies her territory in the very heart of the country, cutting it in twain. What are the logical results of her condition?

Are we told that we must reduce her people to obedience? This the General government unquestionably may do, and should do. But still the question recurs, what is the constitutional status of Maryland and its inhabitants *in the meantime*? And suppose they will not be reduced to obedience. They prefer extermination; they fight to the last ditch, and die in it; or they are expelled and banished. What then? Will the territory belong to nobody? May England people it again with colonists? May France seize it as virgin territory, and hold it by right of occupancy? Has the United States no right of political dominion in it? It seems to me perfectly clear that the government of the United States would be entitled to invite settlers to replant it. If it might do this, would these settlers be a State perforce, and without the consent of the United States government? Is a particular tract of land necessarily a State because a State was once organized upon it? This we have seen is not so. If, then, new settlers, placed upon the territory by the General government, could not act as a State without the consent of that government, could a people who have lost all rights as a State under the Constitution, and who, by the strong arm of the government, have been reduced to obedience, claim it as a right to act again as a State on that same territory? Could they claim to resume and proceed with all the functions of a State, as though nothing had happened?

These questions lead unerringly to the true solution of the difficulty.

The territory of Maryland is a part of that country, that "land" over which the people of the United States have constituted the Federal government, by that Constitution which they have declared to be "the supreme law of the land." This territory cannot be wrenched from its subjection to the authority of that government. There is, there can be, no right of secession. It is a constitutional solecism. But if the people of the State, acting through their State organization, and as a State, have forfeited all claim to be considered as a State—as in the case supposed they clearly would—then it follows (and no other conclusion can be logically drawn) that the General government has a right to occupy the obnoxious territory by its armies, and in all other ways, and to impose such conditions of habitancy therein as it sees fit to do, and as it would have a right to do in relation to any conquered or purchased territory. Any other conclusion would be subversive of the government itself, by putting it into the power of any State, by indirection, to stop the wheels of government, and thus practically to exert the right of secession, which it is admitted does not exist. The recreant State by seceding, renounces her rights and status as a State, and the government takes her at her word; but also adheres to and enforces that other relation in which her *territory* stands to the country and Constitution, as an integral portion of the territory of the United States.

It follows as a corollary, that a seceding State, which repudiates and disclaims the Constitution, *is not a State* within the meaning of the Constitution, but has ceased to be such; and, therefore, that its action cannot in any manner clog the wheels or embarrass the movements of the government. The territory of the United States remains the same; there is only one State the less within that territory. The organization of the various departments of the government, executive, legislative, judicial, is not affected nor changed. Quorums of representative bodies, such as the Senate and House of Representatives, are not destroyed or rendered impracticable. The government moves precisely on; and if the people of a particular State will not have the government to rule over them, they simply lose their status as a State in the eye and within the meaning of the Constitution, and remain subject to the clemency of the government.

As a matter of policy and expediency, it might, and probably would be advisable, in such a case, to receive the erring sister back again as a State as soon as she gets tired of secession. And the most expedient manner of doing this might, and perhaps would be that indicated by the enunciations of Gen. Sherman, namely: by silently allowing her representatives to take their seats in the Congress, whenever Congress is satisfied of her returning loyalty, and quietly setting the wheels of government in motion again in her territory. Such a course, taken by the two Houses of Congress, would probably be as valid a process for readmission as a joint resolution was in the case of Texas for the original admission of a State; but would be tantamount to a joint resolution.

But be that as it may, in strict right, and as a matter of constitutional law, the seceding State, while in a state of so-called secession, cannot be reckoned as a State for the purpose of claiming any rights or interposing any obstacles to the action of the government or people of the United States, or for any other constitutional purposes.

To admit for a moment that the wrongful secession of a State, or a number of States, can embarrass the proceedings required to amend the Constitution, or to perform any function of the government, would be to enable disloyal and rebellious States to deprive the people of loyal and faithful States of their most valued privileges. One of the most valuable privileges secured to the people of the United States is the right to amend their Constitution and government by peaceable means—a right which few other nations enjoy; and hence their bloody revolutions for redress of grievances. Englishmen secured this right by the revolution of 1688, and highly do they prize it. The progress of ideas in the world, and the steady advance of civilization, require gradual changes in the organic law. But if seceding States are to be included in the roll-call of States when an amendment is proposed, the permanent secession of ten States would forever present a bar to any amendment being made, and their temporary secession would temporarily suspend the constitutional prerogatives of the government and people.

We should not for a moment listen to any such absurd proposition. If a State secedes, she, by her own act, ceases to be a State, but her territory does not (except by force of successful rebellion) cease to be a portion of the territory of the United States. Her readmission as a State cannot be claimed as a right, but must depend upon the authority and consent of the Federal government.

It follows, as a further corollary, that any amendment of the Constitution, requiring the approval of a majority of the States, is valid when approved by a majority of those States which adhere to the government. If others have put it out of their own power to coöperate in the matter, either by approval or rejection, it is their own fault and their own misfortune, and not that of the country or of the loyal States. And when they come back again as States, if they ever do, they will be bound by what the government and people of the United States have done in their absence; and they can never plead their own wrong as a bar to the validity of such action. They might as well complain that the amendment was not presented to them for their ratification, when they had armies in the field to prevent any intercourse with them! For, if they are to be reckoned as States, whose approval or rejection is necessary, they could logically argue that a failure to propose to them a contemplated amendment would be a fatal objection to its validity.

At the present time eleven States are in a state of secession *in fronto* (or rebellion, if that expression is preferred), and twenty-five States remain true to the government and Constitution. Therefore the ratification of the amendment in question by nineteen States not in secession will make it valid as a part of the Constitution. This is the clear dictate of constitutional law.

I do not know that the present exigencies of the country render this view of the subject practically important. Both Houses of Congress virtually assumed it as the true one when they declared that a majority of the Senators and Representatives elected to each House respectively was sufficient to form a quorum; thus obviating one of the difficulties which a contrary doctrine would create. The great desideratum of the present hour is to insure the success of our arms in quelling the rebellion. That once quelled, there is little doubt that three-fourths of all the States, including those which have no constitutional claim to be treated as such, but which will undoubtedly be welcomed back to their allegiance, will readily be found to approve of the proposed amendment. The recruiting of the army with stalwart and honest men is at present the great and absorbing duty of the nation.

I am, as ever, yours, JOSEPH P. BRADLEY.

CHARLES KNAP, Esq., Washington.

### *GEN. HURLBUT AND THE WEALTHY CREOLES OF NEW ORLEANS.*

From the New Orleans Delta, March 25.

A MASS meeting of the colored French Creoles was held in this city on the 17th inst. When General Order No. 23 appeared, and these men—most of whom were themselves slaveholders—saw that they were to pay a capitation tax of one dollar per year in support of the helpless and infirm colored people of the department, the *Tribune* called for meetings to protest against it. The meeting was mainly composed of colored men who are known as the aristocratic branch of that population of this city.

Gen. Hurlbut's reply to the committee selected by the Creoles is well deserved. He tells them that instead of calling meetings to condemn those who do work for the Freedmen, and to obstruct the vigorous work of the government in helping them, they should put their shoulder to the wheel and help. There is an orphan asylum conducted in this city by the contributions of the Freedmen.

The General reminds them that there is work of this kind to do, and that instead of holding mass gatherings, and passing high sounding resolutions, they should turn their attention in this direction. His letter is an excellent statement of the case, and the effect of it can only tend to good.

The colored people of this Department are in advance of any in the country, and the Freedmen have greater facilities for improvement than anywhere else in the South. The work done for them during the past six months has been of an extraordinary character, and the Commanding General, with his officers, have had no ordinary task in this line of duty.

Strange indeed that the rich of this race, instead of giving their assistance, keep their arms folded, while philanthropic white men are left to protect and elevate the unfortunate. It is well known that Gen. Hurlbut's arrangements meet the practical necessities of the Freedmen.

HDQRS. DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, March 23, 1865.

GENTLEMEN: Your communication of the 21st has been considered by me.

It consists of preambles that do not state facts, and resolutions that are based upon false views. I hope you have been led into these misstatements by error rather than willfully, although I can scarcely believe you could have been so singularly misinformed.

If, instead of assembling in mass meetings and wasting your time in high-sounding resolutions, you would devote yourselves to assisting in the physical and moral improvement of the Freedmen, you would do some practical good. As it is, you do not in any respect represent the "Emancipated Freedmen" of Louisiana, nor are you doing their cause any good. The mass meeting which you claim to represent was not composed of "Freedmen," but of the Free colored people of New Orleans; free by the old laws of the State, and some at least of them, in the old system, themselves slaveholders.

Between them and the "slaves" there was always, and is now, bitterness of feeling. You are striving for social equality; they for personal freedom. The first is not a thing that can be reached by laws and orders, but can only come from the social tastes, prejudices or inclinations of the people where you live. The second is the creature of law, and can be secured by the sanctions of law.

Your statement that the condition of the Freedmen is but little better than slavery, is notoriously untrue, and I believe you know it. I believe that you have willfully inserted in your resolutions, for publication, statements that you must know to be baseless.

The Freedman is paid for his labor.

The "Slave" is not.

The Freedman's wife and family are his. The Slave's are not.

Free education is given to the Freedman and his children; to the Slave it is forbidden.

The Freedman can bring suits, and be a witness. You know this to be true, and yet you falsify and deny these great facts.

You know further, perfectly well, that without some supervision on the part of the United States, these Freedmen would be cheated of their labor, induced into contracts that would ruin them, and even if fair contracts were made, would be uncertain as to their fulfillment.

You know this because you have seen it, because you have reported, because you have asked for the assistance of military officers to remedy it. You also know that, as a rule, these papers have been enforced by the military authority vigorously, and that many a hard-working man now has his money, that otherwise would have been robbed of his dues.

These results can only be obtained by contract and supervision of the contracts by government officers. There must be some tribunal to ascertain and secure these rights. Freedmen may make contracts as they please, but the contract must be approved and registered, and will be so done, unless manifestly unfair to the laborer.

This is provided for in General Orders No. 23. If they do not make such contract, they can adopt that made by the terms of the order.

They cannot be allowed to lie around doing nothing, because then they become paupers and thieves, and fall upon the government for support.

The Freedmen and the planters are charged a capitation tax—$2 to the planter, $1 to the hand—to aid in supporting the disabled and helpless. I have never heard of an industrious working man who objected to it.

Are you willing, with your knowledge of society here, to have the military officers withdraw all control, and leave these questions of labor of Freedmen and of rights to such civil authority as exists in this State?

You well know that you are not, for I receive constant complaints from you in relation to invasion and neglect of your rights?

You cannot do away with the effects of two centuries of wrong upon white and black in a day or a year; you must take time and slow processes of education to root out such prejudices and habits of thought.

It is more than probable that an entire generation must grow up under new auspices before all this ill effect can be done away.

You must wait and work; not call meetings and pass resolutions, but work faithfully and slowly to educate the public mind both of whites and blacks for the future.

It is true that this system prescribed in orders of Gen. Banks and continued by me is temporary, to be succeeded in its turn by other steps of progress.

Whenever the time comes in which the Freedman can safely appeal to society and the civil courts for his rights, then this military supervision will cease. I do not believe that the time has yet come.

No one will rejoice more than I when it shall come. Until then, under some form or other, the paramount rights of living and of education will be secured to them under the best plan that experience shall devise, and under such control as the officers of the United States may determine.

I differ entirely from you as to Mr. Conway, and consider his services valuable, and, therefore, retain him. I consider your proposal of a mixed Tribunal of Arbitration impracticable, and decline to establish it. I shall, however, forward your communication and this reply to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the proper authorities.

Of course I shall be glad to have your assistance as far as it may go in advancing the condition of the laborer; but inasmuch as you are not responsible for your acts and I am for mine, I shall not change a system adopted without facts and reasons satisfactory to my mind. Very respectfully,

S. A. HURLBUT, M. G. C.

James H. Ingram, Dr. P. W. Lewis, 82 Baronne st. Official copy. GEORGE B. DRAKE, Lieut. Col. and A. A. Gen.

### *THE LIBERATOR AND MR. GARRISON.*

From the Morning Star.

MR. GARRISON announces, in a recent number of his paper—the *Liberator*—in reply to the question of a correspondent, that he expects to discontinue the issue of the sheet at the close of the present year. The chief reason is thus characteristically stated:

"As we commenced its publication for the express purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery, and as that sublime event has been consummated by a constitutional decree of the nation, so that henceforth no slave is to be held within the domains of the American Union, it seems to us historically fitting that the *Liberator* should simply cover the whole period of the struggle, and terminate with it. Unless, therefore, something should occur beyond our present belief or anticipation, to make it necessary to change our decision, we shall not prolong the existence of the paper beyond this YEAR OF JUBILEE."

We trust that the Constitutional Amendment is to be ratified by the requisite number of States, at no distant day; that no system of apprenticeship which leaves the colored people without the highest stimulants to industry and self-improvement, or which guards the power and nurtures the disposition to proscribe and hamper these freed masses, will be allowed a place in the reconstructed system of the South; and the freed negro is to become a full citizen of the country which he has aided to save, and of the State which he helps to enrich and strengthen; and that Mr. Garrison may find his previous occupation really gone, and the present year a real year of Jubilee.

If the nation will only secure equality before the law to the colored people, there will cease to be a reason for singling them out, and treating of their rights and necessities in any specific way. They will be men and citizens, instead of Africans and slaves. With common opportunities secured, they must win their way to worth and influence and esteem under the same stimulants and by the same methods as other citizens. Their freedom assured, they will need the plea of no *Liberator*; their civil rights guarantied, they cannot properly ask for the ministry of any special *Advocate* or *Guardian*.

And so we concur in the view taken by Mr. Garrison, that, when an agency has done its proper work, it is time for it to retire and leave its room to be occupied by some new and needed force. It should depart with the gratitude of Simeon, thanking God that the prophet's function is absorbed by the service of the manifested Messiah; instead of clinging to life that it may still remind us of the grievous things which it were a blessing to bury and then forget. Henry Ward Beecher puts a great truth into a seeming paradox, when he says—"That is a brave and good institution which hastens to dig its own grave."

The *Liberator* has had a marked character and a significant history. It has been a real and recognizable force, and has made a real contribution to our moral and civil life as a people. Its object was specific, and it was never forgotten or subordinated. It aimed simply at the destruction of American slavery. The ultimate object included others—this aim brought many things beside the target within the workman's range. Incidentally, many topics, collateral to this, have come up for consideration, and, for longer or shorter periods, have seemed likely to become the principal topics. But the paper has always come back to its path again, from every deflection. It has at once welcomed the coöperation of every man and woman who would aid in the main undertaking, caring little for their creeds or standing. It might also be added, without injustice, that it has not always been very inquisitive about their crotchets or characters. The moral Esaus of the community, belligerent, cynical, audacious—negative natures that repel at both poles and attract at neither—egotists without principle and critics without justice or appreciation—rejectors of God under the plea of caring for man—contemners of the Bible, who yet searched through its sublimest passages for strong figures of speech with which to denounce oppression, and turned the grief of prophetic warnings into the bitterness of passionate denunciation—all these classes have offered the *Liberator* their alliance in behelf of its great object, and then have more or less sought to make it voice their opinions, have it commit itself to their personal objects, and publicly espouse their individual theories and private quarrels.

Whether this line of policy was wise or not, we will not now stop to inquire. That the paper thus became the vehicle for bitter controversy—for the most radical and revolutionary theories—for opinions thoroughly hostile to the teaching of the Scriptures—and for the greatest intemperance and recklessness of statement and denial—is well known and remembered. And that this feature of the paper drew down much honest suspicion upon this part of the anti-slavery movement, and arrayed many truly conscientious and Christian men against the very undertaking of the Abolitionists, is a fact needing no proof. Men of candor and the highest moral worth said, as they looked through the crowded, radical, bristling columns—"A cause defended by such weapons, advocated on such grounds, and urged on by such methods, must bring more evil than good;" and so while assenting to its main principles they went away and left it unhelped and unapproved.

That is one feature of the paper—one quality in its character—one element of its power—one item that must be allowed to weigh something in the estimate of its aggregate value. But it is only one, and by no means the main one. The paper has been managed with consummate ability from the very first. Vigorous thought, philosophical discussion of fundamental principles in politics, society and morals, historical research, legal learning, scientific criticism, literary taste and culture, eloquent utterance and poetic fire, have all lent their influence to this anti-slavery organ. Its columns have often seemed heaving with strong life, and one could almost feel the throbbing of its vital paragraphs. The dullest reader was compelled to think when running over its editorials—the most stupid nature worked into fervid or indignant feeling beneath its weekly revelations. Few journals in this country have brought out higher or a more fully sustained mental power.

And it has never faltered in its demand for justice, nor allowed itself for an hour to be turned aside from its chosen path and its main object. It has kept the *great question* steadily before the country. It would not be diverted by any side issues. It has been as vigilant as a veteran soldier on picket before Petersburg, allowing no enemy to freedom to pass unchallenged, whatever disguise he might assume, and refusing to take the rifle from its shoulder till it heard the countersign of liberty in a clear, full voice. It has grappled with every legal technicality brought forward in legislatures and courts for the support of slavery—every deduction of science, every postulate of philosophy, every theory of the social compact, every passage from history, every table of statistics, every claim of government, every law of morals, every interpretation of Scripture, every consideration of religion—intent on showing that none of them could justify, but that all of them put their condemnation upon, our national oppression and demanded a prompt repentance. In a way at once simple, open and unequivocal, it has called upon the American people to undo the grievous wrong which was being done alike to the slave and to themselves. Loss of favor, remonstrance, appeal, threat, censure, suspicion, hatred, violence, the falling away of old friends and the coming of new foes—all these failed to change its issues, divert its attention, weaken its remonstrance, or soften its verdicts. It was still heroically firm, sublimely obstinate.

And so it has held on its way for thirty-five years, sometimes hopeful, sometimes despondent; yet never despondent enough to relax its exertion, and never hopeful enough to anticipate that he who began the battle in its columns would be permitted while yet in the vigor of his manhood, to write there the fulfilment of his ridiculed predictions, and the thanksgiving over a completed victory. He may well be satisfied to build his paper into the abiding monument which will tell of liberty achieved for a long oppressed race. It has done a great work in the education of the people—rebuking and restraining our greed of gain and our worship of material prosperity, quickening the conscience and bracing up the moral tone of our body politic. Without at all endorsing all the pretensions that have been set up in its behalf, we accord it the too rare merit of comprehending its mission and of remaining devoted to it; of asking chiefly what was right instead of what was politic; of exalting the very truths which were most in danger of being contemned and crushed; of vindicating free speech against the tyranny of power and the clamor of the populace; of making the form of justice more majestic, her smile more benignant and her discipline more to be dreaded; and of putting into the heart of the loyal North something of the courage which dared our slavery to the combat, and something of the moral conviction and tenacious purpose which have decreed it an execution and a grave.

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It was not strange, perhaps, that many men, who knew nothing of Mr. Garrison personally, and knew of him only as they heard these extravagant things quoted as the dogmas of "Garrisonianism," as it was called, should think of him as possessing the iconoclasm of Cromwell along with the savage zeal of Julius the Apostate, and shudder while they thought of him. But all this while they who met him frequently and looked deepest into his heart, saw the evidence of a noble nature, a passion for truth, the most benevolent impulses, a religious reverence for God which had in it both profundity and beauty, and a perpetual longing for the triumph of the Good, that he might sheathe his sword and drink in the beauty of Peace.

That hour hastens on. And Mr. Garrison's recognition of it and welcome to it are interpreting the man to many who have judged him wrongly. No sooner does the roused nation leap to its feet and strike for liberty, than he hastens to speak his gratitude and cheer the toilers in the struggle. Some of his old associates, seeming to have forgotten how to speak save in censure, are frankly told that he has no words save those of cheer and kindly criticism for a people willing to risk all for unity and liberty. Even from the splendid declamatory invective and the epigrammatic censures of Phillips—bosom friend for many years, and the eloquent advocate on whom almost any cause might lean with both confidence and pride—even from this he publicly dissents, that he may commend Lincoln, or bid Wilson God-speed, or thank Sumner for his latest speech, or interpret Seward charitably, or find an apology for Banks. To cut himself loose from a line of policy pursued for more than thirty years, to risk the alliance or friendship of such old coadjutors, to become the enthusiastic supporter of the government which he has fought for a generation, is to exhibit qualities rare enough to be recognized, and noble enough to be appreciated.

Mr. Garrison has long shown himself the stern rebuker and the uncompromising opponent of wrong; he is now showing himself the charitable sympathizer and the faithful coadjutor of those who devote themselves to the enthronement of the right. If he denounced the nation's sin unsparingly, no man is showing more gratitude than he over its penitence. If his hatred of evil was intense even to bitterness, his love of good is proving itself as deep as the bottom of his heart. These two correlated elements are the opposite poles of a great and healthy nature, between which all noble and beautiful things may find room.

And he takes his victories and honors with great quietude and a beautiful modesty. There is no self-complacent recalling of his old prophecies to prove himself a true seer; no noisy proclamation of his heroism and parade of his self-denials and sufferings; no jealousy of the new workers for freedom, who come so late into the field, and wear the honors

an immense crowd of the people, who accorded to their liberator the cordial acclamations of a race owing him so much. It was truly a cheering sight to see Abraham Lincoln walking, rather than riding in pageant, the streets of Richmond—proud, but fallen city of the South—followed by an admiring crowd, where, but a few hours before, he would have been the subject of rebel jest and ribaldry, which his own patience has overcome, even to the approaching point of rebel reconsideration of folly.

The President, upon his arrival in the city, was immediately escorted, by his own choice, upon foot, to the headquarters of Maj.-Gen. Weitzel, commanding department, which are in the house of Jefferson Davis, and the threshold of which that arch-rebel crossed for the last time on Sunday evening, to take the cars for Danville, followed by his broken army. The President of the United States receiving the congratulations of an admiring auditory in the city of Richmond, and within the (late) domestic precincts of Jefferson Davis, needs no comment to cause the American people to believe that this atrocious struggle is quite at its end.

Maj.-Gen. Weitzel, upon the sudden appearance of Mr. Lincoln, held extemporized drawing-room receptions in the Executive mansion of the confederacy, to which the President loaned, in his presence, the chiefest attraction. He was introduced to the leading general and staff officers of the Department of Virginia and the Army of the James now present in Richmond.

Just subsequent to the reception there was a private conference, after which the President rode out to see the city of Richmond—object of all his Presidential affections.

The ride over, the President proceeded to his ship, leaving us to the kindly realm of future developments. The President's condition of body and mind is best understood by the presentation of the fact, that physical inability, confessed to those with him in his carriage, alone prevented him from hoisting the flag of his country over the ancient Capitol building of Virginia.

## RECONSTRUCTION.

### IMPORTANT SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, April 11, 1865.

THE Executive Departments, including the President's mansion, were again illuminated to-night, and adorned with transparencies and national flags, as were also many places of business and private dwellings. Bonfires blazed in many parts of the city, and rockets were fired. Thousands of persons of both sexes repaired to the Executive Mansion, and, after several airs had been played by the band, the President, in response to the numerous calls, appeared at an upper window. The cheering with which he was greeted having ceased, he spoke as follows:

We meet this evening, not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hopes of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a National Thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I, myself, was near the front and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you. But no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To Gen. Grant, his skillful officers and brave men all belong. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part. By these recent successes the re inauguration of the national authority—reconstruction, which has had a large share of thought from the first—is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a case of war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with. No one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We simply must begin with and mold from disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarassment that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I cannot properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana. In this I have done just so much and no more than the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, would be acceptable to and sustained by the Executive government of the nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable; and I also distinctly protested that the Executive claimed no right to say who or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet and approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then, and in that connection, apply the Emancipation proclamation to the theretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana, that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and that I should admit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members of Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. The new Constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that as it applied to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it from any professed emancipationist came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested in seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Lousiana. When the message of 1863 with the plan before mentioned reached New Orleans, Gen. Banks wrote me that he was confident that the people, with his military coöperation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government. As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated; but as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest, but I have not yet been so convinced. I have been shown a letter on this subject (supposed to be an able one), in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question, whether the seceded States, so called, are in the Union or out of it. It would, perhaps, add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to answer that question, I have purposely forborne any public expression upon it. As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and that any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may become, that question is bad as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that the seceded States, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible but, in fact, easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether those States have ever been out of the Union than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restore the proper practical relations between these States and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion, whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000 or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of 12,000 as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent and on those who serve our cause as soldiers. Still the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is, and keep it, improve it, or to reject and disperse?

Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some 12,000 voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a Free State Constitution, giving the benefit of the public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man.

This Legislature has already voted to ratify the Constitutional Amendment recently passed by Congress abolishing slavery throughout the Nation. These twelve thousand persons are thus fully committed to the Union, and to perpetuate freedom in the State, committed to the very things, and nearly all things the Nation wants, and they ask the Nation's recognition and its assistance to make good this committal.

Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in fact, say to the white man, You are worthless or worse; we will neither help you nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty, which these, your old masters, held to your lips, we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where and how.

If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we sustain and recognize the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of 12 000 to adhere to their work and argue for it, and feed it, and proselyte for it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success.

The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance, and energy, and daring to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only to what it should be, as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it (laughter).

Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the National Constitution. To meet this proposition, it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable.

I repeat the question, can Louisiana be brought into practical relations with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case, that no exclusive and inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement.

Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.

The President, during the delivery of the above speech, was frequently interrupted by applause, and on its conclusion, in the midst of the cheering the band struck up a patriotic air, when he bowed and retired.

There were repeated calls for Senator Sumner, but he was not present.

Senator Harlan of Iowa was then called for, and after the applause had subsided he directed attention to two principles settled or to be settled by the closing contest: First, the American people had decided that the majority of the voters of the Republic should control its destinies and the incipient processes of making its laws. Second, that no part of the Republic should ever be permitted by force to divide it.

The punishment of traitors lay in the hands of Congress, and the Constitution pointed out clearly what constituted treason. Those who hatched the treason should suffer the penalty, and under Congress he was willing to trust the future in the hands of the citizens elected a second time to see the laws faithfully executed.

Senator Harlan's remarks were applauded.

The assemblage dispersed after vociferous huzzas and the performance by the band. A larger and more enthusiastic meeting has seldom if ever before been held in front of the Executive Mansion.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1865.


### ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the City of New York (probably at the Church of the Puritans on Union Square), on TUESDAY, May 9th, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

The Executive Committee urge upon all the members of the Society a prompt attendance at this meeting. The questions to come before it are of the greatest importance. Some members of the Committee propose, in view of the almost certain ratification of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the United States Constitution, to dissolve the Society at this Annual Meeting; while others would postpone such dissolution until the ratification of that Amendment is officially proclaimed; and others still advocate continuing the Society's existence until all the civil rights of the negro are secured.

Beside this, whichever of these views receives the sanction of the Society, there is the further question whether the STANDARD shall be continued.

On these and other accounts our deliberations will be most interesting and important, and ought to assemble all the members and earnest friends of the Society.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, } Secretaries.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, }

### THE END AT HAND!

THERE have been glorious days and nights that we have been living through of late! The day resonant with the clash of bells and the sound of military music and of shoutings and the booming of cannon, and the night flashing with illuminations and fireworks. Joy has overflowed in every city and hamlet, and hearts that had long refused to be comforted have felt peace return to them, because their cruel sacrifices had not been in vain. The last days of the Rebellion are felt to be the first days of the Republic. Not only the Past but the Future is secure. Not only has the North been found—it has mightily prevailed. The South has utterly failed in its attempt to involve the whole country in the ruin and misery inseparable from its chosen wickedness. The way is now prepared for the first time for a genuine Union, which shall know no North, no South, no East, no West. It was only by the conquest and reduction by force of arms of the South that this way could be opened. Heretofore, she had been the Nation, and the pinchbeck statesmanship which was current in those days exhausted itself in endeavors to make it seem as if this were the normal estate of our polity. By her own crime and folly she has lost the supremacy of evil that she had, and, through much well-merited tribulation, she will pass on to a condition of prosperity and happiness she has never known. The fruits of the Union victories will be even more abundantly perceived by her than by the mighty regions which have laid low her pride. Plenty, peace, safety for person and property, the supremacy of law, the enlargement of industries, the development of resources, the multiplication of wealth, the extension of education and intelligence, all the blessings of civilization, will redound to the conquered rebels as the consequence of their defeat. They will be blest in their own despite, and they will learn by a happy experience that in free society alone exists the possibility of a true Commonwealth. They will not be called upon to conquer their prejudices, as we were once: these have been conquered for them, and will never be permitted to reassert the old dominion over their public and private affairs. Our victories are indeed National, for they benefit the vanquished even more than the victors.

The surrender of Richmond, attended by the flight of Davis and Lee, was in effect that of the Rebellion. The capitulation of the latter and the dispersion of his army is the first step thereafter in confirming its destruction. The submission or dispersion of all the other insurgent forces will follow as a matter of course. The Rebellion is ended, as nearly as possible four years after it begun at Sumter. It has done a mighty work. It has taught the Nation its strength in men and in money, and yet more in ideas. Our very blunders and crimes have been blest unto us. We were compelled by the insolence and pertinacity of our enemies to depart out of the mist and vapor of false prosperity in which we had dwelt so long, and enter, through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, into the celestial sunlight of Universal Liberty. Cruel as has been the price with which we have bought this freedom, it is well worth it all, if we do but steadfastly maintain it and live worthy of it. Gen. Grant has placed himself at the very head of living soldiers, and in the very first class of the most famous of past time, by the masterly combinations by which he has organized our victory. He has certainly shown a clemency and lenity never yet displayed by the subduer of a rebellion. We will not criticize, still less condemn, the easy terms on which Lee and his myrmidons were let go. We believe it would have been grateful to the carnal man of the nation at large, if that wretch who has been the instrument of so much misery and bloodshed, and who might have mitigated by a word, if he did not order, the lingering murders of our prisoners, were on his way to Fort Warren or Fort Layfayette, instead of being at large and free to go where he will, unwhipped of justice. It is a damper on the general joy, we are sure, that he has been accorded the treatment given to honorable foemen, like Cornwallis or Burgoyne. But we put our faith in Gen. Grant, who knew better than we can know what strength for mischief yet remained in Lee's arm, and are content to believe that his mercy was well-judged as well as abounding, and that it will be twice blest, to those that give and those that receive.

The United States have shown themselves indeed the Model Republic in the carrying on of war, if it were hindered of being such during the long peace that preceded it, through the blighting influences of slavery. Never was a war, and above all a war against rebels, carried on with such humanity and mercy. It was carried on not under exasperation or for revenge, but purely from a sense of public duty to each other and posterity. Even the atrocities and villanies exercised towards our prisoners could not arouse us to cruel retaliations, and all the mischiefs the rebel leaders have brought upon the country will bring no just punishment upon their heads. Compare the fiendish cruelties of the English in Ireland in 1798 and in India in 1857, those of Russia towards Poland and of Austria towards Hungary, with the lenient and indulgent treatment our rebels have met with and will yet receive. One execution, that of Mumford at New Orleans, for an offence merely treasonable, is the sum of punishment, pure and simple, that this treason has brought upon itself! And yet England lifts up her hands, ingrained with the blood of rebels for a thousand years, in horror of the atrocity of Butler's just and necessary act! It is not likely that even a single capital execution, for the mere crime of treason, not even of the arch-rebel, should be be taken, will follow the ending of the war. What nation can show such a record as this? What stronger proof could be given of the conscious strength, the inherent power, of a Republic. The only punishment that will be meted out to the rebels will be freeing them from the deadly intestine foe which has plunged them in semi-barbarism all their days, and involved them in every crime, rounded with treason. This blessed chastisement is all that they will probably be called on to undergo. They will be punished by freedom, education, prosperity, wealth, security and peace. And, as soon as they can be safely entrusted with it, by the restoration of their civil and political rights as citizens of the nation.

We are aware that a deep anxiety is felt by many hearts lest the very virtues of the President may not be made instrumental of mischief in the final settlement of the reconstruction. We do not share in these fears. The time of compromise and mutual agreement is happily past. The day of grace is over. The rebels are not in a position to demand terms, but to receive such as may be vouchsafed to them. Conditions of peace are not in order, but conditions of pardon. They are conquered, and must submit to what the Head of the Nation thinks fit to appoint them, under the authority given him by Congress and the Constitution. His terms will not be hard. But as to the matter of Emancipation he will be fixed as Fate. He cannot be otherwise without stooping himself in an infamy which would make all former public criminals look fair. With the meed of immortal fame within his reach, he will not reject it for the sake of everlasting contempt and execration. By force of his Proclamation, there does not breathe a slave on any portion of the rebel domain. Every black man on that soil is as free as he himself. And is there any danger of his seizing those freemen and turning them back again into slaves? The idea is preposterous. The greater task than even the suppression of the Rebellion, that now awaits his hand, is, the effectual maintenance of the new rights of those freedmen by their erection into freemen. This is perhaps the greatest task ever imposed upon a Statesman, but we believe it will be performed in a statesmanlike manner. We may be sure that he sees as well as any of us the necessity of this work being done well, and that he will not be slack in performing it. And in doing it he should receive all the help that the long-tried experience and sagacity of the Abolitionists can afford him. He has shown himself ready to ask and to use their help. Though Anti-Slavery proper must die with Slavery, Slavery will leave behind it a legacy of mischiefs which will call for the best wisdom and most skilful care of Anti-Slavery men to help in defeating it. Happily, in this task they will have many co-workers, and will no longer have the burden and heat of the day to bear alone. They will not be dead as the slave's friends. They will only be changed.

### THE NEW TIMES IN RICHMOND.

WE copy the following paragraphs from the Richmond correspondence of the New York *World*, the organ of the Copperhead Democracy:

"The black troops were a bitter dose to highborn patricians, and yet the recent effort of the rebels themselves in that line has done away with much of that prejudice. I might say in passing, that the experiment of raising black troops was the most ridiculous failure and burlesque ever perpetrated by a government. There were never more than eighty organized, and these were mostly nurses impressed from hospitals. I have asked several, both black and white, if they thought the negroes could be induced to fight against us, and they laugh at the notion. The negro recruitment is the greatest failure of the day.

"The entry of our forces has completely revolutionized the manners and customs, and, to some extent, the ideas prevailing here, already. You are perhaps aware that negroes have never been allowed to enter the Capitol Square except on their duties. Of course it has been filled with all the negroes in the city since enlarged freedom has been granted them."

The correspondent of the *Tribune* tells the following story:

"Day before yesterday Mr. Chester, the colored correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, was seated in the Speaker's chair of the rebel House of Representatives, quietly writing to his paper. A scion of a first family discovered him thus and kindled his ire. He ordered Mr. Chester to 'Kim out o' thar'—which he didn't, as Pip's Joe the blacksmith would say. Then the scion laid hold of him to take him out. Then Chester planted a black fist and left a black eye and a prostrate rebel. Then the rebel rose and asked an officer, who was a witness of the scene, for his sword 'to cut the d—d nigger's heart out.' The officer declined on the ground that he did not have two swords, that he might also give one to Chester. However, if the scion desired it, he would see fair play for a fair fight, at the same time expressing the opinion that he would 'get thrashed worse than Lee did the other day.' The scion bottled his wrath and skulked away, meanwhile Chester was coolly writing."

The correspondent of the *Times* describes a memorable scene, as follows:

"I shall never forget a scene I witnessed yesterday, at the Historical African Church, on Broad street, where, it will be remembered, the Richmond rebels, just after the Peace Conference, held a great meeting, and sought to fire anew the great Southern heart. I don't wonder the attempt failed. It was simply a bit of spite to use this church edifice for a such purpose, and to utter such sentiments in the temple made sacred by the suppressed prayers for freedom of the thousands of black worshippers who assembled there, was simply sacrilege. It is an evidence of the lack of faith in their cause that the rebels should choose the most unostentatious edifice in Richmond for their purpose. This church is built in the form of a cross, and will seat perhaps fifteen hundred persons. It is perfectly plain in its furnishings, and about the last place one would think of selecting for getting up any particular enthusiasm on any other subject than religion. Had the rebels thought their cause worthy of it, there were a dozen churches in Richmond, far more appropriate for their purpose, where secession was regularly preached. By that peculiar instinct which the colored man uses with such success, word was circulated yesterday, that in the afternoon there would be a 'Jubilee Meeting' at the church. By the time services had commenced the building was crammed with a black mass of humanity, and among them were many of our colored soldiers. When we entered the audience was singing Watts's hymn, beginning

"'Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone,'

and after each line repeating three times the following, with great emphasis:

"'I'm going to join in this army;
I'm going to join in this army of my Lord.'

"When they came to the verse commencing,

"'This is the way I long have sought,'

the emphasis was so significant that the smiles of the spectators could hardly be repressed.

"After an appropriate prayer by a member of the Christian Commission, the Rev. Dr. Barrows, of Andover Theological Seminary, preached a very eloquent and appropriate sermon. Care was taken that nothing should be said to arouse the passions or resentments of the slaves; and the exercises closed amid the greatest good feeling. It was, indeed, another marked evidence of the great revolution, as we contrast it with the meeting held in the same church two months ago.

"'The mills of God grind slowly,
But they grind exceeding fine.'"

### REJOICING IN WASHINGTON.

#### SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL BUTLER.

THE people of Washington were almost wild with joy over the news of Lee's surrender. The public offices were closed, and the people generally surrendered themselves to the enthusiasm of the hour. Thousands assembled in front of the Executive mansion. The bands played, and many in the crowd sang in unison with the music. Cannon were fired, and repeated calls were made for the President. When he appeared at the window over the entrance door he was greeted with huzzas, clapping of hands and waving of hats. He appeared to be calm amid these wild demonstrations before him. Comparative silence having been restored, he said:

I am very greatly rejoiced that an occasion has occurred so pleasurable that the people cannot restrain themselves (cheers). I suppose that arrangements are being made for some sort of formal demonstration, perhaps this evening or to-morrow night. (Voices—We can't wait.) If there should be such a demonstration I, of course, will have to respond to it. (A Voice—Bully for you.) And I will have nothing to say if you dribble it out of me. (Laughter and cries of "We want to hear you now.") I see you have a band. (Voices—We have three of them.) I propose now closing up by requesting you to play a certain piece of music or a tune. I thought "Dixie" one of the best tunes I ever heard (laughter).

The band began to play "Dixie," but soon ceased, as the President had not yet concluded his remarks. He continued:

I had heard that our adversaries over the way had attempted to appropriate it. I insisted yesterday that we had fairly captured it (cheers and laughter). I presented the question to the Attorney-General, and he gave his opinion that it is our lawful prize (laughter and cheers). I ask the band to give us a good turn upon it.

The band accordingly played "Dixie" with extraordinary vigor, when three cheers and a tiger were given, followed by the tune of "Yankee Doodle."

The President then proposed three rousing cheers for Grant and all under his command, and next three cheers for the navy and all its forces. They were most enthusiastically given.

The President retired amid huzzas, the tune of Hail Columbia, and the firing of cannon.

Later in the day another crowd gathered before the Executive mansion, and the President, in answer to repeated calls, appeared merely to say if the company had assembled by appointment some mistake had crept into their understanding. He had appeared before a larger audience than this one to-day, and he would repeat what he then said, namely: He supposed, owing to the great good news, there would be some demonstration. He would prefer to-morrow evening, when he should be quite willing and, he hoped, ready to say something. He desired to be particular, because every thing he said got into print (laughter). Occupying the position he did, a mistake would produce harm, and therefore he wanted to be careful not to make a mistake. (A Voice—"You have not made any yet.")

The President was greeted with cheers, and after bidding the crowd good evening, retired.

SPEECH OF GEN. BUTLER.

Major-Gen. B. F. Butler, in answer to the calls of a great crowd of people, came upon the balcony of Willard's and spoke in substance as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am profoundly grateful and thank you once and again that you have called upon me to join you in your congratulations upon this great triumph of our arms, which conquers and subjugates finally a most heinous Rebellion against the American people. The surrender of Lee and his army puts an end to this traitorous war waged to overthrow the government. Even now, while the heart turns in gratitude to God for his good Providence, while the soul burns with gladness at the result which, rightly understood, renews the life of the nation forever, vital and controlling questions, to be settled in the immediate future, arise and mingle perforce with our joy. There are four classes of men in the rebellious States. What shall be done with them? What shall be done with the men educated in the Military Academy at the public expense, sworn to protect our flag, obtaining livelihood, honor and promotion under it, the children of the nation, who, without justification, excuse, or palliation even, betrayed their country, forfeited their honor, struck down their flag, used the very knowledge obtained at the Nation's school, to break down the government which nurtured them, and the nation which honored them, and have now ceased an unholy strife, which has cost millions of money and hundreds of thousands of lives, because they have been beaten, conquered and subdued by the valor of our soldiers, whose comrades they have starved in loathsome prisons? [Cheers and cries of "hang every one of them: hang them: give them the rope."] In the future the danger to our liberties can come only from the mad ambition of those in the army, who may conspire again against the life of the Nation. Shall we not by example teach every officer who deserts his flag that he shall suffer the same penalty for desertion which the government and the law has enforced upon so many of our soldiers for the same crime? What shall be done with those whom the people North and South once delighted to honor, who, with the oath of God upon their lips, but treason in their souls, sat in yonder Capitol in the seats of law-givers, day by day, and plotted how to destroy their country—even while, in the name of the Constitution, they claimed to sacrifice at the altar of her most cherished liberties? Shall they ever again have the power or place or vote to destroy their country? (No, no—never, never.) Shall they ever again be allowed to have the loved, and honored, and glorious privileges, now made sacred by the blood of hero patriots shed to save them from acts of such men, those of American citizens? (No, never, traitors; hang them.) The next class—the soldiers in the ranks of the rebellion: misled, deceived by false statements and arguments and prejudices until their judgments were overborne, conscripted and driven until their wills were overcome into the support of the rebellion, but who even in a bad cause have illustrated the valor of the American race—are we not ready to say to them: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do," and to receive them again as brothers of us and with us? ("That's it!" "Good!" "Good!" "That's the talk.") Still another class. Those at the South who have ever welcomed the flag with shouts of gladness, who have never failed to rejoice in Union victory, who have never lost faith in the Union cause, who always have concealed, fed, and cared for the Union prisoners escaping from the cold, sickness, starvation, and death of Libby and Andersonville, guiding them faithfully by the North Star through swamp and forest to liberty and life; who have joyfully taken up arms with us and laid down their lives in our cause; who were the first to enter Richmond, the true Union men of the South (cheers); what shall we say to them? Shall we not say liberty and equality of right under the laws forever? (Yes, yes, and cheers; good, good). Then we are agreed, condign punishment to the military traitor who deserts his flag for rebellion; disfranchisement and safe-keeping for the civilian using his perjured place to betray his country; the right hand of fellowship for the misguided and deceived victims of the rebellion, and equal rights for the black man under the law. (Cries, "Agreed, agreed, agreed.") Then I think that will do. (Cries, "Go on, go on.") Let us also be thankful to the good God that while this war has cost so much treasure and blood it has so established our power among the nations of the earth that the shedding of American blood upon American soil may now cease forever, and in our dealings with the nations of the earth, we can adopt, without fear of war, the motto of Jackson, "ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong." (Good, good.) And now good bye. (Cries of "How about Maximilian.") I beg your pardon, I am not your Secretary of State, and have no power to direct your foreign affairs (great laughter.) Good bye (laughter and cheers).

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY will, on Tuesday next, celebrate the anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and the colored people of other cities and States have been invited to participate in the demonstration. The main features of the celebration are announced to be: First, a prayer-meeting at Zion church; Second, a military and civic procession; Third, a mass meeting at Cooper Institute. The prayer-meeting will be conducted by the Rev. Singleton T. Jones, pastor of Zion Church, assisted by clergymen and laymen of the various denominations.

The procession will be composed of various military and civic organizations, under the direction of Grand Marshal Paul Drayton, assisted by a large number of efficient aids. The music for the occasion will be furnished by the Brigade Band of Camp William Penn (kindly furnished by Col. Wagner of that camp), and other bands.

Among the distinguished speakers invited, and who will no doubt be present, are Maj.-Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, Col. Wagner, Maj. Martin R. Delany, Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, Capt. T. Morris Chester, Sergt.-Maj. A. M. Green, and Rev. J. W. Loguen.

After deducting the expenses of the Committee of Arrangements, the proceeds will go to the treasury of the Ladies' Committee for the Relief of Sick and Wounded Soldiers.

### PERSONAL.

Every American, loyal to Republican principles, will rejoice to learn that John Stuart Mill is likely to go to the British Parliament as member for Westminster.

It is announced that Garibaldi's daughter Teresita has just given birth at Caprera to a boy, who, by his grandfather's desire, has been christened Lincoln, in honor of the "American President who has abolished slavery."

Speaker Colfax, it is said, is soon to make an overland journey to the Pacific. He will cross the plains, spend a few days in Utah, and extend his trip through California, Oregon and Washington Territory, and as far North as Puget's Sound. Several other distinguished gentlemen will accompany him, and be present at a grand banquet to be given him on the 10th of May at St. Joseph, Mo.

The correspondent of the *World*, writing from Richmond, says: "The truth I believe to be that the flag was really first 'hoisted,' not 'planted,' [on the Capitol] by a negro sergeant named Seth Adams, belonging to Birney's division of the Twenty-fifth corps, who was piloted up to the proper spot, at the top of the building, by an old servant of the Virginia House of Delegates."

President Lincoln returned from Richmond on Sunday afternoon. The correspondent of the *Tribune* says: "The relaxation and respite from office-seeking bores, success of our arms, one or all, have greatly recuperated his prostrated energies, and he returns much stronger in body and soul than when he left. On his arrival here he immediately proceeded to Mr. Seward's, where he remained up to a late hour in consultation with the suffering Secretary."

That veteran reformer and Poet, John Pierpont, having attained fourscore years, was surprised on Thursday night, 6th inst., by a visit from personal friends, who brought him valuable presents and autographic remembrances from distinguished authors, emancipationists and temperance reformers. Mr. Pierpont holds an important position in the Treasury Department at Washington, the duties of which, in spite of his advanced age, he fulfils with great efficiency.

Hon. Nathaniel B. Borden of Fall River, Mass., died on Monday morning, after a painful illness. We have not seen or heard from him for many years, but we remember him well as an out-spoken Abolitionist in "the times that tried men's souls." He was for many years a Vice-President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and more than once, if we mistake not, he presided in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. He served at least one term in Congress as the colleague of John Quincy Adams, and upon all questions relating to slavery cast his influence and his vote on the right side.

"Hangman Foote," who ran away from Richmond not long ago, and, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, was required to leave the country, returned to this city from England in the steamer Etna on the 7th inst. He came in the steerage with the emigrant passengers, under the assumed name of James Scott, but a couple of policemen, learning his true name before he landed, followed him to the St. James Hotel, where they revealed his identify to the man in charge, and advised him (Foote) to report himself to Gen. Dix. He deemed it prudent to follow this advice, and Gen. Dix at once sent him to the Ludlow street jail. He said it was his intention, if he had not been discovered, to go to Canada, and upon arriving there to make application for permission to pass through the Union lines to the South.

William Lloyd Garrison, Hon. George Thompson, Theodore Tilton, Henry Ward Beecher, Hon. Henry Wilson, and many other gentlemen, the invited guests of the government, left this port on Saturday in the steamer Arago, to assist in the ceremonies appointed to signalize the raising upon Fort Sumter of the Flag hauled down at the time of its surrender four years ago. The Secretary of War, while giving Mr. Garrison a very cordial invitation to go to Charleston as the guest of the government, was thoughtful enough to remember that his son, Capt. George T. Garrison, was serving in the 55th Massachusetts regiment, and to give him a furlough, that he might have opportunity to be with his father during his stay in South Carolina. The steamer Oceana also left on Monday, filled with passengers for Fort Sumter, Charleston, Savannah, etc. Aaron M. Powell went with this party as correspondent of the *Tribune*.

Says the Washington correspondent of the *Tribune*, writing April 4th: "The evening before Senator Wade left Washington for Caarleston, S. C., he was waited upon at his rooms by a party of gentlemen from Dakota and presented with a beautiful gold headed cane bearing the inscription: "To the Hon. B. F. Wade from his friends in Dakota." The presentation speech was made by the Hon. Walter H. Burleigh, Delegate elect from Dakota, who alluded to the services rendered his country by the distinguished Senator, and especially to his recent efforts in behalf of the North-Western Territories by urging the passage of the bill appropriating $150,000 for opening wagon roads, one of which starts from Sioux City, Iowa, through Dakota Territory up the valley of the Niobrara or Running Water to Virginia City, and thence to Lewiston in the direction of Puget Sound.

The Senator replied briefly but with great feeling, pledging himself to continue his exertions in aiding the development of the Western States and Territories in their efforts to secure just and reasonable appropriations from Congress.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 5th inst., a very serious accident befel Secretary Seward. The circumstances are thus related by the correspondent of the *Times*:

"At about 4 o'clock Mr. Seward left the State Department in his carriage, and passed up Pennsylvania to Fifteen-and-Half street to his residence, where his son, F. W. Seward, and wife, and Miss Titus got in. While the driver was in the act of closing the door with his right hand, holding the reins with his left, the horses started. The driver held on, followed them, and endeavored to close the door. Mr. F. W. Seward, seeing the danger, jumped from the carriage with the hope of heading off the horses and stopping them. They, however, got away from him and from the driver, and when they reached the corner of Vermont avenue and H street, Secretary Seward jumped from the carriage, falling upon his right arm, breaking it just below the shoulder, and bruising his face. He was taken up in an insensible condition by several gentlemen and carried to his residence. Surgeons Abbott, of the United States Army, and Verdiurre called in and set the broken limb, after which the Secretary felt much easier, having by that time fully recovered his reason. The ladies remained in the carriage until it arrived at the stable, where a party of soldiers caught the horses. The driver was somewhat bruised."

It subsequently appeared that the fracture of his arm was by no means the worst injury received by Mr. Seward; his lower jaw was found to be broken, in consequence of which his condition is believed to be somewhat critical. On Monday there seemed to be danger that erysipelas would supervene, and fears have been expressed by his physicians that, owing to his inability to take solid nutriment, he cannot repair the waste of his vitality in time to meet the heats of the coming warm weather. His illness may perhaps compel him to resign his office.

VALUABLE PAMPHLET.—We are indebted to Mr. George L. Stearns, of Boston, for a copy of a pamphlet embracing speeches by Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass, and letters from Elizur Wright and Willian Heighton—all claiming and defending the "Equality of all Men before the Law." Mr. Stearns, with characteristic liberality, is distributing 10,000 copies to anti-slavery men in all the free States; and desiring to increase the number to 100,000 or more, asks the aid and coöperation of the friends of liberty on terms which we give in his own words:

"If you will send me what money you can spare for this object, I will forward you, free of postage, such number as you may send for at the rate of twenty copies for every dollar, or one hundred copies for every four dollars, sent me; which is less than the cost of publication. Or if you will send me names, with post-office address, I will send them direct in your name. If you send me money without specific directions, I will distribute them according to my best ability, and advise you of the distribution when made.

"Truly your friend, GEO. L. STEARNS."

## Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1865.

THE pressure upon the President to issue a Proclamation to the people of the South is so great that I look for it every morning in the papers. It will undoubtedly be issued. Nor can anybody blame Mr. Lincoln for listening to the advice which is given him from so many sources. To start with, the Conservative wing of the Republican party has been rather urgent in recommending the President to issue a proclamation, or in his negotiations with the rebel leaders to offer generous terms. Mr. Greeley, coming from among the more radical Republicans, has added his powerful voice to the cry for peace, and still later Mr. Beecher supports the same policy. I do not see how the President can resist much longer, and I do not believe he will. If he does, then he is a firmer man than I have thought him to be. Mr. Beecher's farewell address makes a sensation here. It is quoted by the staid, conservative *Intelligencer* with great delight. The *Intelligencer*, I ought to remark, is not what it was during the Presidential campaign. It is for vigorous war, for unconditional re union, and an honorable peace. I say this lest its approval of Mr. Beecher's address should be misunderstood. The President will be very much impressed by Mr. Beecher's remarks, for he has regarded the pastor of Plymouth Church as radical, and occasionally (like the most of us) a fault-finding radical. I well remember that when Mr. Beecher felt it to be his duty to write a series of articles in the *Independent* which were sharply critical upon the President, that somebody cut them out and mailed them to Mr. Lincoln, so that he received them under one envelope. One rainy Sunday the President took them from the envelope and read them through to the very last word. One or two of the articles were written with great power, and as will be remembered by those who read them, they condemned the course of the President in no measured terms. Mr. Lincoln was for the moment intensely indignant, exclaiming, "am I a dog?" etc., etc. Yet the impression left on his mind was most excellent. It was at a time when he was vacillating and uncertain, not only respecting Gen. McClellan's position in the army but upon the slavery question. Mr. Beecher now takes ground in favor of magnanimity towards the rebels; and I take it as an indication of what is coming. Certainly if it is the feeling of the majority of the people of the Northern States, it will be impossible for the anti-slavery veterans in Congress to resist it.

In my last letter I stated that the current rumors

# Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 10th, 1865.

"GLORY to God in the highest, and on earth Peace." We seem to-day to be nearer the blessed consummation last named than for long years before. The surrender of Lee and his whole army! This is the glorious news which, in the midnight following Sunday, roused vast numbers of the sober citizens of the old Bay State to listen to the clang of bells and the roar of guns. Lee and his whole army have surrendered. "It must be now de kingdom comin', and de year ob jubilo." However true it may be that Charybdis remains to be passed, let us have a hearty cheer of congratulation that we have escaped from Scylla. Hurra! Hurra! Hurra!

Next will come a Proclamation of Amnesty. Is this to bring us unmingled blessing, or to include an intermixture of new dangers? To whom will full pardon, and restoration of the forfeited status of citizenship be proffered? Are Davis and Stephens, Mason and Slidell, Toombs, Hunter and Lee, Floyd and Benjamin, and their associates in the rebel cabinet, congress and army, to be now recognized and accepted as good citizens of the United States? Are they to return to their estates, and take the old position of distinguished consideration among their former neighbors, with no other stigma than that which belongs to want of success in a great undertaking? Is an oath of allegiance to be proffered to them as the condition of return to all the rights and privileges of citizenship, with the assumption that their word is to be believed, or their oath depended on? If the majority of their fellow-citizens shall choose still, as formerly, to send these men to Washington as their Senators and Representatives, is this to be permitted? General Lee, by the terms of his surrender, is to have full liberty on his parole. Is Jeff. Davis to have full liberty on the same terms? And is the practical use of that formality with the leaders of the rebellion so well assured that it is worth the ink and paper, the time and trouble of any loyal United States officer to receive such parole? Many such questions must now be in the minds of thinking men and women. May God grant wisdom to the President to arrange these matters wisely.

Formerly, it was only those exceptional members of the clergy who had been baptized into anti-slavery truth who ventured upon the innovation of "introducing politics into the pulpit." Now, all classes of the ministry seem to have learned that political action should also be religious action, and should therefore receive its share of public notice from the teacher of religion. Our Boston clergy have taken their share in forwarding the great revolutionary movement now in progress, as thoroughly as did their illustrious predecessors in the first revolution. This is one of the evidences of a truth which we have often had occasion to notice, that the incidental benefits of the Anti-Slavery movement have been no less numerous and distinguished than its direct ones.

I heard yesterday an admirable sermon on the great topic of the hour, from a minister who has always taken the right stand in regard to slavery, Rev. Samuel Johnson of Salem, now settled in Lynn; a gentleman having the highest gifts of mind and heart, and standing in the very front rank of reform, theological and other. His sermon above referred to, entitled "Victory and Justice," was preached before the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston, and was heard with enthusiasm by a large audience. Rejoicing in the triumphs already gained (of which the capture of Richmond was *then* the culmination), he led the minds of his hearers forward to the greater conquest yet remaining to be effected, the modification of Southern ideas, institutions, manners and customs, in the interest of liberty, civilization and religion. He marked with great distinctness the Providential guidance of our affairs, prolonging the war until the whole North, whose pulpit and press, whose literature, commerce, politics, religion and social life have heretofore done so much to sustain slavery, was become enlightened and transformed upon that subject. And he urged most impressively the duty of now making justice, full and ample, to the colored people, the basis of our national reconstruction. He claimed for them nothing less than citizenship; full equality in rights before the law, and a fraternal extension of sympathy and help on our part, to give fitting inauguration to the new order of things.

The papers have told you that the religious Society above mentioned (late Theodore Parker's) have invited Rev. David A. Wasson to be their minister. This gentleman is one of the best thinkers and ablest writers of our time, and his papers in the *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner* for a series of years past have been among the best in those periodicals. It was in the latter that he published an admirable criticism of Carlyle, drawn forth by his wicked and spiteful publication called—The American Iliad in a nut-shell. Mr. Wasson is not less admirable as a preacher than a writer. His sermons contain the very noblest thoughts, expressed in the very choicest language, and delivered in a most impressive manner. He is independent in thought, fearless and decisive in speech, an ardent follower of truth, a true apostle of progress. Perhaps no person is better fitted to take the important position vacated by Theodore Parker. I rejoice in being able to tell you that this able and excellent man has accepted the position of Pastor to the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston, now holding their Sunday morning meetings in the Melodeon. He has declined, in their favor, a very liberal offer previously made to him by the Unitarian church in Cincinnati.

P. M.—After writing the above, I walked through the city. Its aspect was striking, and deeply impressive. The stores were closed. Flags of all sizes were hung out everywhere. Houses and shops were decorated with various emblems of jubilation. The streets were full of people. Even the chilling influence of an easterly rain-storm was disregarded. Men shook hands, laughed, wept, overflowed with rejoicings and congratulations. Processions passed through the streets, and meetings were improvised in public places. The Mayor had issued a Proclamation in the morning, ordering guns to be fired, bells to be rung, bands of music to parade the streets, and rockets to be sent up from the common in the evening, and suggesting a general illumination of the city at night, for which active preparations are now going forward. Shortly after nine o'clock this morning a jubilant crowd assembled in the Merchants' Exchange, and the first expression of their feeling was given by singing "America," in the most enthusiastic manner, and then "Old Hundred." Then came vigorous cheers for Lincoln, Grant, Sheridan, and the brave boys of the army and navy. The speech that followed was shortened by the reception of a message from the merchants in Franklin st., proposing an immediate out door celebration. The great congregation of representatives of commerce and trade then marched through some of the principal streets in the rain, singing the John Brown song.

At eleven o'clock came a Navy yard procession from Charlestown. Later still, another meeting was held in the Merchants' Exchange, where prayer was made, and "America" and "John Brown" were again sung with enthusiasm. I have not space to mention the smaller meetings, movements and processions.

At one o'clock a very great meeting was held in Winthrop Square, now the centre of the wholesale dry-goods business. James M. Beebe, one of the chief dealers there, presided. After a very eloquent and patriotic speech from Hon. George S. Boutwell, some one chose to call for George S. Hillard, Esq., who thereupon rose, and was introduced to the meeting. He was greeted with a shower of hisses, intermingled with cries of—"We want nothing from the Boston *Courier* to-day." So general and decided was the expression of disapproval at the appearance of a representative of that paper as an orator at this time of public exultation, that Mr. Hillard was obliged to withraw from the stand. Probably many of those who now hissed had repented of not having made the same demonstration in Faneuil Hall the week before, when the "complimentary flunkeyism" of the Mayor had brought Robert C. Winthrop upon the platform, to take public part in the rejoicings at the fall of Richmond. Both those men should have had the decency to keep away from such meetings, unless they came to make humble confession of their guilt.

The firemen, the fire steam-engines, and the hook-and-ladder companies of the city were called together at noon for a march through the principal streets. The bulletin-boards were saying—"Let the Eagle scream." And the firemen, taking the hint, screeched their joy to the full extent of the metallic throttles of their steam-whistles, with every variation of time and tune possible to those instruments, all along the march.

In the morning, the Supreme Court met as usual, and adjourned. The Legislature met, and adjourned. The Mayor sent word to the Public Schools, giving children and teachers a holiday. And a city procession, escorted by various military bodies, added their share to the public demonstration of Boston's sympathy with the Nation's triumph.

This evening's paper brings us a piece of news more particularly interesting to us of Massachusetts, but well suited to remind us all of those barbarous and inhuman traits of Southern character which, developed and cherished by slavery, culminated four years ago in the rebellion. The remains of the soldiers of the 55th Massachusetts Regiment, who fell in the battle of July 2d on James Island, were left unburied by the barbarians of the Confederate army, and have remained ever since, lying just as they fell. The bones of these victims have now been collected by the 55th (which lately formed a camp on James Island), and on the 26th ult., they were committed to the grave, attended by the whole regiment. The grave was dug on a high bluff, overlooking Charleston harbor and city, under pine-trees drooping with gray moss. The escort was commanded by Capt. Goodwin, who was severely wounded in the same fight, and the pall-bearers were mostly men wounded at the same time. The coffin was draped with the national flag, and the Massachusetts and Ohio colors (the latter having been presented by Ohio ladies to the regiment), and the remarks of the chaplain and the music by the band were appropriate and impressive. Brevet Brig.-Gen. Hartwell (formerly Colonel of the regiment) came from Charleston to attend the ceremonies.

It was well thus to honor the brave men who, giving their lives for their country, were denied even burial by their country's enemies. Will it be well if the surviving colored soldiers are denied citizenship and the suffrage, while those relations are allowed freely to the rebels who fought against both them and the country? Shall reconstruction leave our affairs in such a state as this?

NORTH.

## *THE FORT SUMTER EXPEDITION.*

### NOTE FROM GEORGE THOMPSON.

ON BOARD THE ARAGO,
OFF CAPE HENRY, VIRGINIA,
SUNDAY EVENING, April 9, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: We have had a very fine run thus far. The weather has been brilliant, the sea smooth, the wind favorable, the company most harmonious and agreeable; in a word, everything has been conducive to our comfort and happiness. Mr. Garrison, who has always before suffered much at sea, has been quite well, has been constantly engaged in conversation with persons heretofore strangers to him, and has taken his meals with as much satisfaction and appetite as when ashore.

This morning we had an eloquent discourse from Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn; it was delivered on the after deck, and was well attended.

Congress, the Bench, the Bar, the Pulpit, the Army, the Navy and the Press are all well represented among the guests of the government now on board.

Mr. Garrison is an object of interest to all, and is treated with peculiar respect and attention.

We are approaching Fortress Monroe, where we shall receive a reinforcement from Washington, and then proceed to Port Royal, from which place I will write you again. Very truly yours,

GEO. THOMPSON.

THE NATIONAL UNITARIAN CONVENTION held in this city last week was attended by a large number of ministers and lay delegates, representing nearly two hundred Churches, and presenting an array of intellectual and moral force seldom met with in a religious body. On the evening preceding the organization of the Convention, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke of Boston delivered, in All Souls Church, before a crowded assembly, a discourse, the spirit of which was greatly admired alike by those who thought it too radical and those who thought it too orthodox in its doctrinal bearings. The preacher paid a generous tribute to the leaders and workers in the Anti-Slavery Movement, once few and feeble, now at last, by the blessing of God upon the truth He called them to proclaim, triumphant; and he took occasion from their example of faith, patience and courage to cheer the hearts of Liberal Christians and incite them to diligence and perseverance in their efforts to advance the cause of pure and undefiled religion.

The President of the Convention was His Excellency John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, who performed the duties of the chair with great promptness as well as dignity and impartiality. Among the delegates were the leading Conservative and Radical ministers of the denomination; and prominent in the class last named were Rev. O. B. Frothingham of New York, Rev. Robert Colyer of Chicago, Rev. D. A. Wasson of Worcester, Rev. C. G. Ames of Albany, and Rev. Edgar Buckingham of Troy. Our old friend C. C. Burleigh appeared as a representative of the Independent Church, of which he is the minister, in Florence, Mass.

The Convention was divided between those who desired to adopt a confession of faith, those who thought it the glory of the denomination that it had no creed, and those who were not willing to go with either of these parties, but anxious to keep the peace between them. Neither the Right nor the Left wing had its way in all respects. The Conservatives were defeated in their attempt to procure the adoption of a creed, and the Radicals failed to convince the Convention that it should open its doors wide enough to admit all earnest-minded workers for humanity without reference to their theological opinions. A permanent organization, liberal enough to admit a large amount of Radicalism in the future, was, however, effected.

CORRECTION.—We made a blunder, a fortnight ago, in inferring from a statement in the Cleveland *Leader* that the Legislature of Ohio had removed the last restriction upon Black Suffrage in that State. The facts in the case are these: The Constitution of Ohio excludes negroes and mulattoes from suffrage. The Democrats, when in power, not satisfied with this, passed a special law also excluding all men in whom there is a "visible admixture" of African blood. This law the Supreme Court of the State declared unconstitutional, and the Legislature has repealed it. We understand that a movement will soon be made by the Republicans to so amend the Constitution as to permit the Negro to vote.

A CARD FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS, giving the reasons for his opinion that the American Anti-Slavery Society should not be disbanded at the coming Anniversary, was received too late for publication this week. It shall appear in our next.

☞ COPIES of the latest published Annual Report of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (1860–61, the year preceding the rebellion) will be sent by mail to any person desiring it, on application to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 221 Washington Street, Boston, enclosing *ten cents* for postage, etc.

CIRCULAR.—Arrangements having been perfected for bringing some of the freed people to this city, persons in want of help are notified to make application to our agent, JANE BOUSTEAD, 1605 North St. (below Coates above Sixteenth St).

This agency is established by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society with the aid and coöperation of the Pennsylvania and both Friends Freedmen's Associations of this city.

To prevent disappointment we would state that many of these people have little or no acquaintance with housework, and are apt to be slow, though mostly of good dispositions and willing to learn.

A number of them are women with children, whom it is desirable to locate near each other. Farmers or others able to accomodate such are desired to forward their applications. Few if any men can be had.

If the servants prove unsatisfactory, the Committee decline having them returned to the agency, but when notified thereof will co-operate in finding other suitable places for them. Any change of residence should also be notified to our agent.

To aid in the payment of expenses a charge of one dollar each will be made to parties taking them.

JOS. M. TRUMAN, JR., MARCELLUS BALDERSTON,
H. RYLAND WARRINER, LUKENS WEBSTER,
*Committee on Employment, Penn. Abolition Society.*

Philadelphia, 3d mo., 1865.

JANE BOUSTEAD, Agent,
1605 North st. (below Coates above Sixteenth), to whom all communications should be addressed.
Office hours—9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

N. B.—A number are expected on 6th day (Friday) evening, 3d mo. 31st, after which they will arrive on 3d day (Tuesday) afternoon of each week.

# Chronicles of the War.

## Surrender of Gen. Lee and his whole Army.

### *THE REBELLION VIRTUALLY ENDED.*

### THE DAY OF PEACE AT HAND.

ON Sunday evening, at 11 o'clock, news was received in this city that Gen. Robert E. Lee, commanding the Rebel Army of Northern Virginia, had surrendered to Gen. Grant. It was but a few minutes later when the newsboys went forth with bundles of extras for sale, and thousands of people were roused from their beds and brought to their windows by the cry which rung out on the still night air: "SURRENDER OF LEE AND HIS WHOLE ARMY!" The whole city was thrilled by the joyful tidings, and the people went again to their beds with feelings of thankfulness too deep for expression in words.

The official announcement of the news by the Secretary of War, together with the correspondence which preceded the surrender and defined its conditions, is hereto annexed.

### OFFICIAL DISPATCHES.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, April 9, 1865, 9 o'clock, p.m.

*To Major-Gen. DIX, New York:* This Department has received the official report of the surrender this day of Gen. Lee and his army to Lieut.-Gen. Grant on the terms proposed by Gen. Grant.

Details will be given as speedily as possible.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

HDQRS. ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 9, 1865, 4:30 p. m.

*Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:* Gen. Lee surrendered the army of Northern Virginia this afternoon upon the terms proposed by myself. The accompanying correspondence will show the conditions fully.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

APRIL 7, 1865.

*General R. E. LEE, commanding C. S. A.*

GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General,
Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 7, 1865.

GENERAL: I have received your note of this date. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and, therefore, before considering your proposition ask the terms you will offer, on condition of its surrender.

R. E LEE, General.

To Lieut.-Gen. U. S. GRANT, Commanding Armies U. S.

APRIL 8, 1865.

*To Gen. R. E. LEE, commanding C. S. A.*

GENERAL: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received.

In reply I would say that, peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon viz.:

That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the government of the United States until properly exchanged.

I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General,
Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 8, 1865.

GENERAL: I received at a late hour your note of today, in answer to mine of yesterday.

I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender; but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end.

I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposition may effect the Confederate forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten a.m. tomorrow on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General C. S. A.

To Lieut.-General GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States.

APRIL 9, 1865.

*Gen. R. E. LEE, commanding C. S. A.*

GENERAL: Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for 10 a. m. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General, U. S. A.

APRIL 9, 1865.

GENERAL: I received your note of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

To Lieut.-Gen. Grant, commanding U. S. A.

*General R. E. LEE, commanding Confederate States Armies.*

Your note of this date is but this moment (11:50 a.m.) received.

In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about four miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place, will meet me.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-General.

APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, April 9, 1865.

*General R. E. LEE, commanding C. S. A.*

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual paroles not to take arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be parked and stacked, and handed over to the officers appointed by me to receive them.

This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully, U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
9th April, 1865.

*Lieut.-General U. S. GRANT, commanding U. S. A.*

GENERAL: I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

### DISPATCH OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO GEN. GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, 9: 30 p.m.

*Lieutenant-General GRANT:*

Thanks be to Almighty God for the great victory with which he has this day crowned you and the gallant armies under your command.

The thanks of this Department and of the government and the people of the United States—their reverence and honor have been deserved—will be rendered to you and the brave and gallant officers and soldiers of your army for all time.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

### THE VICTORY—OFFICIAL ORDER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, April 9—10 p.m.

ORDERED: That a salute of two hundred guns be fired at the headquarters of every army and department, and at every post and arsenal in the United States, and at the Military Academy at West Point, on the day of the receipt of this order, in commemoration of the surrender of Gen. R. E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia to Lieut.-General Grant and the army under his command—report of the receipt and execution of this order to be made to the Adjutant General at Washington.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

## The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE COLORED TROOPS BEFORE RICHMOND.

The correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* writes: "Of the Twenty-fifth Corps, Gen. Ord has on this side the James one division and one brigade, I believe, every man of them being a colored soldier. Their presence has excited considerable comment, and many persons have been anxious to see how they would bear themselves in action. The doubts of some have been removed, and the confidence of many others has been gloriously strengthened by this day's work. When the orders were given they advanced steadily to their work and accomplished it in a manner of which any troops in the world might be proud. They swept down upon the scornful rebels and carried two heavy forts, capturing fifteen guns and a large number of prisoners.

ENTHUSIASM OF THE NEGROES IN PETERSBURG.

The colored troops commenced entering it shortly after sunrise, and were objects of great curiosity to the scores of negroes in the city. But very few white people were visible, and their absence was more observable on account of the large crowds of negroes in the streets, who appeared to be incapable of sufficiently expressing their joy at the arrival of our troops. They capered around our men in a most ludicrous manner, and at every fresh arrival yelled out, "Dar comes de clebber Yankees."—*Cor. Herald.*

SONG OF THE COLORED SOLDIERS.

The following is the ditty sung by Uncle Sam's Colored Infantry on their march into and through Peteraburg and Richmond. Though not exactly classic in its diction, it is quite expressive:

Say, darkies, hab you seen de massa,
Wid de muffstash on his face,
Go 'long the road some time dis mornin',
Like he's going' to leave de place?
He seen de smoke way up de ribber
Where de Linkum gunboats lay;
He took his hat and left berry sudden,
And I 'spose he's runned away.
De massa run, ha! ha!
De darkey stay, ho! ho!
It must be now de kingdom comin',
An' de yar ob Jubilo.

He's six foot one way and four foot todder,
An' he weighs six hundred poun',
His coat's so big he couldn't pay de tailor,
An' it won't reach half way roun';
He drills so much dey call him cap'n,
An' he gits so mighty tan'd,
I spec he'll try to fool dem Yankees
For to tink he's contraband.
De massa run, ha! ha!
De darky stay, ho! ho!
It must be now de kingdom comin',
An' de yar ob Jubilo.

THE HEROES OF WAGNER.

A captain of a New York regiment, just released from the rebel prisons, throws some light upon the fate of the soldiers of the 54th Mass., killed and captured in the assault on Fort Wagner. He says:

"Sept. 13, the prisoners were sent from Savannah to Charleston with great haste. They were kept thirteen hours in cattle-cars. An order was issued to allow no one to leave the cars upon any pretext whatever. Those afflicted with the diarrhœa and other complaints suffered dreadfully. They were imprisoned among murderers, thieves, deserters from the Union army, blockade-runners and vagabonds of every description. There were twenty negro soldiers, most of them belonging to Col. Shaw's 54th Massachusetts regiment, of immortal memory, among the number. They were never to be exchanged, but were to be reduced to slavery. *These were all that were left of the colored troops captured at Wagner.* The rest were bayoneted and shot after they surrendered. Their rations were bread and water; still they would sing Union songs, pouring their melody through their prison-bars, for the entertainment of the Union officers in the prison below."

MASSACHUSETTS 55TH.

This regiment, when approaching Charleston, witnessed many scenes among their colored friends of great interest. A member of the regiment writes:

"One of our officers went up to the master's house upon one large plantation, and ordered him to blow his horn, to summon the slaves from their work up to the house; which he did. After they were all assembled, the officer made a speech to them, informing them that they were free, and ordered them to assist in carrying off forage from the place. That there was joy on that plantation, I need not tell you! Everything that the overseers and masters attempted to conceal, by hiding and burying in the ground, we quickly found with the assistance of the slaves. For information in regard to individuals and places, our officers invariably asked the slaves, and paid but little attention to what their owners or overseers might say."

DO NOT WASTE YOUR MONEY buying any of the numerous worthless articles called Gold Pens which have flooded the market for the last few years, when at lower prices you can get pens which are acknowledged to be the BEST IN THE WORLD.

Avoid the shameless Upstarts whose lack of brains compels them to attempt IMITATION, *even to the advertisement.* If you want the full value of your money, call on A. Morton, 25 Maiden Lane, or inclose stamps for circular.

# Summary.

The ordinance for the disfranchisement of the rebels was defeated in the Missouri State Convention.

LINCOLN AND DAVIS.—George Thompson said, last evening, in a speech at Cambridge, that "the rail-splitter had turned out better than the Union-splitter."—*Boston News.*

SENATOR SUMNER has personally notified District Attorney Carrington, of Washington, that if the conductors of the horse railroad violate the law passed at the recent session, by refusing to let colored people ride in the cars, they must be indicted and tried.

GEN. GRANT'S ARMY.—Incompliance with an application made at the War Department one of the largest sized guns will be sent from St. Louis to Galena, Ill., the home of Lieut.-Gen. Grant, to be fired there in honor of the fall of Richmond.

GEN. BRECKINRIDGE A CULPRIT.—It appears from a statement of a gentleman, who had conversed with old acquaintances in Richmond, that John C. Breckinridge was responsible for the burning of property, some of the merchants having entreated him but in vain, to prevent the threatened destruction.

CHANGING THEIR TUNES.—*Washington, April 6.*—The brass band formerly belonging to the 14th Virginia, who arrived here to-day, took the oath of allegiance. After that ceremony they played a number of airs suited to the occasion, such as "Jordan is a hard road to travel" and "Aint we glad to get out of the wilderness?"

REFUGEES.—*Goldsboro, March 31.*—Refugees continue to go North in great numbers; not a train leaves here but is loaded down with them. They are principally destitute white people, and contrabands going to the plantations at Beaufort, S. C., and other places set apart by Gen. Sherman for their benefit, and whose white people are prohibited from settling.—*Tribune.*

JEFF. DAVIS'S CARRIAGE, built for him three years ago in New Orleans, at an expense of three thousand dollars, is among our captures. It was taken to the Danville depot, but there was no room for it, and then it was run up against one of the walls to burn; but by some good fortune it was rescued, though in a slightly damaged condition. It is in good running order, however, and with a few repairs it will again be quite a stylish vehicle. The pair of bay horses that he used to drive were run out of the city, together with all the other live stock.

SOBRIETY—AN ORDER.—The following order indicates that nobody shall keep a roggery in or about Richmond:

OFFICE PROVOST MARSHAL,
RICHMOND, April 3, 1865.

All places in the city of Richmond where intoxicating liquors are sold are hereby ordered to be immediately closed. Any person whatever, who shall sell or give to any enlisted man of the armies of the United States any intoxicating liquor, will be immediately arrested and summarily punished.

By direction of Brig.-Gen. GEO. F. SHEPLEY,
Military Governor of Richmond.

EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.—A correspondent of the *Methodist*, says: "We have lately conversed with persons from the lower counties of Maryland, where most of the slaves were owned. The fears which haunted the people before emancipation was effected, that labor would be scarce, have turned out to be more than groundless. Hands are both more abundant and more efficient than before. The freedmen seem eager to labor, and do their work better than ever. Their former masters consider them cheaper as freemen than as slaves. So much for the slanders heaped upon these poor and oppressed people."

JOY AMONG THE NEGROES OF RICHMOND.—President Lincoln's visit, coming so soon after the occupation, was a matter of intense interest to the entire population. Crowds—thousands—rushed out for a glimpse of his tall figure, as he walked into the city attended by a few friends and an escort of a score or two of soldiers. The enthusiasm was, however, confined to the negroes, the foreigners, and exceptional Virginia-born citizens. But the joy of the negro knew no bounds. It found expression in whoops, in contortions, in tears, and incessantly in prayerful ejaculations of thanks. It is wholly unnecessary to say that every colored man is a loyal man, and is overflowing with expressions of his loyalty—triumphant through great tribulation. With the citizens generally it is otherwise.—*Cor. Tribune.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN THE SENATE GALLERY.—During one of the closing days of the last Congress, Frederick Douglass sat in the Senate gallery of the Capitol, thoughtfully scanning the scene below. A domineering white man, of the "old school" of negro-haters, seeing him thus in the once-forbidden seats, approached him from behind, laid his hand roughly upon his shoulder, and demanded, "What's your name?" Douglass glanced quickly over his shoulder, his eyes shooting fire, his every feature dilated, and seemingly about to wither his interlocutor with an indignantly-scornful reply, when he hesitated for a moment, calmly surveyed the stranger, suffered a smile to come gradually upon his face, and then, in a voice as soft as a woman's, mildly answered, "Fred. Douglass, sir." The man, abashed or astounded, almost as mildly and very hesitatingly, responded—"What, the original Fred. Douglass?" "The original Fred. Douglass, sir," was the equally calm rejoinder. "Oh!" faltered the would-be overseer, and slinked back, up the aisle and out of the gallery door, amid the contemptuous looks of a large number of witnesses of the transaction.—*Commonwealth.*

THE RICHMOND NEWSPAPERS.—Of the five newspapers of Richmond three have been destroyed by the fire. The *Whig* and *Sentinel* alone remain. The latter has been confiscated by the government, and the *Whig* is issued as an evening paper by the former proprietor, William Ira Smith, who announces in his salutatory of Tuesday that it will be devoted to the cause of the Union, and will bring to its control one of Virginia's noblest sons, by which we suppose that John Minor Botts is meant. The *Whig* was the last paper to succumb to the secession furore, and Mr. Smith then sold it rather than continue its publication. I forward you, with this letter, copies of Tuesday and Wednesday evening's edition. None of the other papers were published on Monday, Saturday, the 1st, being the last of the old regime. Daniels is dead; the rest of the fire-driving editors have gone with their crest-fallen chief.

AN APPROPRIATE RELIC OF TREASON.—Gen. Gordon brought back as a relic from Jeff. Davis's house an ornament in the shape of an eagle, the neck of which is firmly held in the capacious mouth of an alligator. From the beak of the eagle is suspended a chain of five links, emblematic of the eagle fettering the South. An American shield is in the paws of an alligator, as having been wrested from the spirited bird of freedom. The height of the whole is ten inches, and the spread of the eagle's wings measures fourteen inches. The emblem of Southern treason illustrated was presented to Jeff. by a member of the North Carolina Legislature, who of late has been loud in preaching submission sentiments, and ready to give up the confederacy. This evening's board carries this precious rebel relic to Boston as a present from Gen. Gordon to Gov. John A. Andrew, Executive of the Bay State, by whom it will doubtless be highly appreciated.—*Cor. N. Y. Herald.*

WHAT THE MATTER WAS.—The other day, a city railroad car, labelled "For Colored Persons," was passing through one of the Washington streets, when a white lady, of consequential airs, entered and glanced up and down for a seat. The car was well filled, about half the inmates being white persons. A neatly dressed colored woman, wishing to accommodate, compressed her dress and moved along a little to make room for the new-comer beside her. Madame looked at the proffered seat, muttered something to herself not quite audible, jerked the bell-strap, alighted in mud an inch or two deep, and paddled as best she could to the sidewalk, showing her indignation by her acts as long as she was in sight. "What was the matter with that lady?" asked a neighbor in the car to the colored woman who had welcomed her to a seat. "Oh, she *couldn't read*—that's all!" quietly responded the good-natured woman, to the amusement of all present.—*Commonwealth.*

MR. GREELEY'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT on Peace, coming out in so curiously circuitous a way, shows either that Mr. Greeley's Niagara experiment was undertaken in a panicky state of mind, or that if he was not frightened himself, he meant to frighten the President. There was nothing in the military situation or the state of popular feeling last July to warrant such desperate language as Mr. Greeley used to the President. And his proposition to give a complete amnesty to all rebels, leaders as well as people, and to pay them four hundred million dollars as an atonement for destroying their slave system, are not such as most loyal men would consent to. At the time, and often since when recurring to the subject, Mr. Greeley has modestly disavowed any wish to suggest conditions of peace; but he was less modest in his private letters to the President. Shall we have a similar revelation when the secret history of his present pressure upon the President for more peace proclamations comes to light?—*Springfield Republican.*

ANOTHER SUGGESTION TO BUSINESS MEN.—Edward S. Philbrick of Boston, interested in the sea island plantations, has imported for the people of his colony, about a thousand in number, mostly women and children or feeble old men, within the last two years, *upwards of eighty-five thousand dollars' worth of goods*, for their sole use and benefit! This is a consumption of *forty-two dollars worth* per annum by each of these people! Now, if this is the present demand, when the government has garnered into its fold all the able-bodied males, leaving only the children, women and feeble old men to be employed on the plantations, what merchant is skilful enough in figures to compute the profit on the trade which will ensue with the South, when peace is declared, the men discharged from the army, and the whole black race elevated to the condition of free laborers? The highest service the mercantile class at the North can do themselves, setting aside the freedmen, is to insist that the blacks shall have the ballot, and thus furnish the most potential quickener to industry, intelligence, family comfort, and good citizenship, that can be afforded.—*Commonwealth.*

PRO-SLAVERY.—At a recent discussion in the Baltimore Conference, on the subject of Slavery, one of its members, J. M. Bull, declared that he had as much faith in the divinity of slavery as he had in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Mr. Bull subsequently explained, that he meant by the expression that he thought slavery as clearly taught in the Bible as the divinity of Christ. His case was referred to a committee, who subsequently reported that the expression used by Mr. Bull would be highly reprehensible under any circumstances, but especially in a Conference of Methodist preachers; that the sentiment is one that ought to shock every mind, and that any person entertaining it was unfit to be a member of the Conference. They recommended the passage of the following resolutions:

Resolved. 1. That it is the judgment of this Conference that Brother Bull ought to locate.

2. That if he refuse to do so, the Bishop be and he is hereby respectfully requested to reprimand him in open Conference.

The report and resolutions were adopted by a vote of 27 to 23. Mr. Bull declining either to locate or submit to censure, a resolution to expel him was moved and adopted, only eight voting in the negative. He gave notice of an appeal to the General Conference.

THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.—We did not think that an exposition of Luke xvi. 19-31—a passage that commentators have hammered till the life seemed nearly out of it—could be made interesting at a time when no one can think of anything but Richmond and victory. But at the great Jubilee in Faneuil Hall on Tuesday, Frederick Douglass gave a new interpretation, which, at the time, seemed to us as most pertinent. It certainly brought down the house. It is thus reported in the *Journal:*

"I tell you, the negro is coming up—he is rising—rising (laughter and applause). Why, only a little while ago we were the Lazaruses of the South; the Dives of the South was the slaveholder; and how singular it is that we have here another illustration of that Scripture! Once there was a certain rich man that fared sumptuously every day, and was arrayed in purple and fine linen. He came North, clothed in silk and in satin, and shining with gold, and his breast sparkling with diamonds—his table loaded with the good things of this world. And a certain Lazarus sat at his gate, desiring the crumbs that fell from his table. Such was the record. But now a change has taken place. That rich man is lifting up his eyes in torments *down there* (tremendous applause), and seeing Lazarus afar off, in Abraham's bosom (tumultuous laughter and applause), is all the time calling on Father Abraham to send Lazarus back. But Father Abraham says, 'If they hear not Grant nor Sherman, neither will they be persuaded though I send Lazarus unto them' (prolonged and vociferous applause). I say we are up yonder now, no mistake (this was said with an expressive gesture that called forth another outburst of applause). My friends I will not inflict a speech upon you (loud cries of "Go on"). Oh, no; I am afraid I shall spoil it (great merriment)."


### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Further Subscriptions to 31st National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary.*

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## Special Notices.

WHEELER AND WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES.—Woman's Greatest Boon.—We would advise a man to forego a thresher and thresh wheat with a flail rather than to see the wife wear her health, vigor and life away in the everlasting "stitch, stitch, stitch," when a sewing machine can be obtained. The Wheeler and Wilson is an invaluable aid in every household. We have had several different kinds on trial, and after six years' service the Wheeler and Wilson has taken the precedence as the best, where all kinds of sewing are to be done in a family.—*American Agriculturist, January*, 1865. 40—tf

## Advertisements.

THIRD EDITION.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865,

THE THIRD EDITION OF THIS POPULAR ANNUAL IS NOW READY.

In addition to the usual

CALENDAR AND ASTRONOMICAL CALCULATIONS

IT CONTAINS:

# Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

## OUR NATION'S FREE.

*Written on the adoption by Congress, Jan. 31, 1865, of the Amendment to the Constitution Abolishing and Forever Prohibiting Slavery.*

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
All hail! the land of liberty!
Loud swell the trump that sounds its fame,
No longer now an empty name;
Far let the joyful tidings spread,
Where'er the feet of man can tread.
Waft it, ye breezes, o'er the sea,
And tell the world our nation's free.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
Proclaim the glorious jubilee!
Sublimely let its echo roll,
And thrill with music to the soul.
The oppressor's power at last is broke,
And millions, freed from slavery's yoke,
Their thankful hearts and voices raise,
To speak their great Deliverer's praise.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
How bright its future destiny!
Within its bounds no clanking chain
Shall bind the human form again.
The husband now may claim his wife,
The faithful partner of his life.
The mother now her babe may nurse,
Nor see it doom'd by slavery's curse.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
To gain his rightful liberty,
The panting fugitive no more
Shall strive to reach a foreign shore.
The laws, to bind him once employed,
Forever now "made null and void,"
Are like the withes by Samson worn
Before his mystic locks were shorn.

Our nation's free! our nation's free!
To God let all the glory be.
He said, "Let ye my people go";
But the proud nation answered, No.
The ministers of truth and love
Ignored the message from above,
And knowingly refused to teach
What Jesus came from heaven to preach.*

Where'er a human voice was found
To plead for those in slavery bound,
Whate'er his rank, his very name
Was loaded with contempt and shame.
Thus by self-seeking minions led,
Through Church and State corruption spread.
Yet did the sovereign Lord maintain
His unacknowledged right to reign.

He blest the land with peace and health,
And filled its ample stores with wealth,
And said, "Let ye my people go."
The thankless nation answered, No.
By scorching heat, and blighting frost,
The precious fruits of earth were lost.
He said, "Let ye my people go."
The murmuring nation answered, No.

Again, he raised his chastening hand;
Disease and death swept o'er the land,
And said, "Let ye my people go."
The sullen nation answered, No.
The trump of war began to sound,
The cannon's thunder roared around,
And said, "Let ye my people go."
The stubborn nation answered, No.

In widows' tears and orphans' cries,
In famished prisoners' dying sighs,
In tones of grief, and blood, and woe,
He said, "Let ye my people go."
At length, the chastened nation heard
The sovereign mandate of his word,
And bowed its will to his decree;
And now we sing, our nation's free!

Martinsburg, Ohio. M. A. CUNNINGHAM.

*Luke iv: 18.

## GRAND CELEBRATION OF THE FREEDMEN OF CHARLESTON.

Correspondence of the Tribune.

CHARLESTON, March 27, 1865.

THERE was the greatest procession of loyalists in Charleston last Tuesday that the city has witnessed for many a long year. The present generation has never seen its like. For these loyalists were true to the nation without any qualifications of State rights, reserved sovereignties, or other allegiances; they gloried in the flag, they adored the nation, they believed with the fullest faith in the ideas which our banner symbols and the country avows as its own. It was a procession of colored men, women and children—a celebration of their deliverance from bondage and ostracism; a jubilee of freedom, a hosannah to their deliverers.

The celebration was projected and conducted by colored men. It met on the Citadel green at noon. Upward of ten thousand persons were present—colored men, women and children—and every window and balustrade overlooking the square was crowded with spectators. This immense gathering had been convened in 24 hours, for permission to form the procession was given only on Sunday night, and none of the preliminary arrangements were completed till Monday at noon.

Gen. Hatch, Admiral Dahlgren and Col. Woodford gave their aid to the movement; and thereby the 21st Regiment of U. S. C. T., a hundred colored marines and a number of national flags gave dignity and added attractions to the procession.

The procession began to move at one o'clock, under the charge of a committee and marshals on horseback, who were decorated with red, white and blue sashes and rosettes.

First came the marshals and their aids, followed by a band of music; then the 21st Regiment in full force; then the clergymen of the different churches, carrying open Bibles; then an open car, drawn by four white horses, and tastefully adorned with national flags. In this car there were 15 colored ladies dressed in white—to represent the 15 recent slave States. Each of them had a beautiful bequet to present to Gen. Saxton after the speech which he was expected to deliver. A long procession of women followed the car. Then followed the children of the public schools—or part of them; and there were 1,800 in line, at least. They sang during the entire length of the march:

John Brown's body lies a mould'ring in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a mould'ring in the grave,
John Brown's body lies a mould'ring in the grave,
His soul is marching on!
Glory! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
Glory! Glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
We go marching on!

This verse, however, was not nearly so popular as one which it was intended should be omitted, but rapidly supplanted all the others, until at last all along the mile or more of children, marching two abreast, no other sound could be heard than

We'll hang Jeff. Davis on a sour apple tree!
We'll hang Jeff. Davis on a sour apple tree!
We'll hang Jeff. Davis on a sour apple tree!
As we go marching on!

The secret of the popularity of this verse was found out after the procession was over. Mr. Timothy Hurly, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, volunteered to teach the children at the different schools to sing this song; but was desired by the superintendent to omit this verse, on the ground of a personal opposition to capital punishment in all cases where criminals are in a position where they can be prevented from injuring society. Many of the children already knew the song, and took the advice not to sing that verse contrariwise—as perhaps, they were expected to do by their volunteer teacher. It did seem that they could remember no other verse, and the zest with which they sang it showed little appreciation of the position of the opponents of the penalty of death.

Very few of these children had ever been at school before; not one of them had ever walked in a public procession; they had had only one hour's drill on their play-ground; and yet they kept in line, closed up, and were under perfect control and orderly up to the last. They only ceased to sing in order that they might cheer Gen. Saxton, Col. Woodford, various groups of Union officers or sailors, or one or two Northern men whom they recognized as their friends. Gen. Saxton and lady were in a carriage at one street where the procession passed; and Col. Woodford and lady at another; and one continuous cheer greeted them, mingled with cheers for an officer whom they supposed to be Gen. Hatch. The colored people know all these officers as their friends. Gen. Saxton is their favorite everywhere in the Department, and they have all learned that Gen. Hatch and Col. Woodford gave them equal rights in the public schools—an advantage which they prize next to freedom.

After the children, came the various trades. First, the fishermen, with a banner bearing an emblematical device, and the words, "The Fishermen welcome you, Gen. Saxton." Second, a society with the banner, "The Union South." Third, carpenters, masons, teamsters, drovers, coopers, bakers, paper-carriers, barbers, blacksmiths, wood-sawyers, painters, wheelwrights and the fire companies. The carpenters carried their planes and other tools; the masons their trowels; the teamsters their whips; the coopers their adzes; the bakers crackers hung round their necks; the paper-carriers a banner, and each a copy of the Charleston *Courier*; the barbers their shears; the blacksmiths their hammers; the wood-sawyers their saw-bucks; the painters their brushes; the wheelwrights a large wheel; and the fire companies, ten in number, with their banners, their foremen with their trumpets.

The most original feature of the procession was a large cart, drawn by two dilapidated horses with the worst harness that could be got to hold out, which followed the trades. On this cart there was an auctioneer's block, and a black man, with a bell, represented a negro-trader, a red flag waving over his head; recalling the days so near and yet so far off, when human beings were made merchandise of in South Carolina. This man had himself been bought and sold several times; and two women and a child who sat on the block had also been knocked down at public auction in Charleston. As the cart moved along, the mock-autioneer rang his bell and cried out: "*How much am I offered for this good cook?*" "*She is an 'xlent cook, ge'men.*" "*She can make four kinds of mock-turtle soup—from beef, fish or fowls.*" "*Who bids?*" "200's bid." "Two hundred?" "200's bid," "250," "300," "350," "400," "450." "Who bids?" "who bids? 500." And so he went on imitating in sport the infernal traffic of which many of the spectators had been the living victims. Old women burst into tears as they saw this tableau, and forgetting that it was a mimic scene, shouted wildly: "*Give me back my children! Give me back my children!*" The wringing of hands seen on the sidewalks caused more than one looker-on to curse the policy that would even suggest the possibility that the wretches who had bought and sold loyal men might be or ought to be readmitted to the rights of citizenship. But there are people here who would even recommend that these persons alone should be regarded as citizens! There is no officer in all the United States who could stand up before the storm of righteous indignation which a fearless record of the lives of the oath-takers here would arouse. And that chronicle of crime is being made here. If ever they attempt to put down the true loyalists here, this record will be sent to the *Tribune*.

Behind the auction-bar 60 men marched, tied to a rope—in imitation of the gangs who used often to be led through these streets on their way from Virginia to the sugar-fields of Louisiana. All of these men had been sold in the old times.

Then came the hearse—a comic feature, which attracted great attention, and was received with shouts of laughter. There was written on it with chalk:

"Slavery is Dead."
"Who Owns Him?"
"No One."
"Sumter Dug His Grave on the 13th April, 1861."

Behind the hearse, 50 women marched dressed in black, "with the sable weeds of mourning, but with joyous faces," as a natural-born orator from Bunker Hill remarked on the occasion.

Various societies were represented. The procession was more than two miles and a half in length, and officers said that it marched in better military style than the great procession on the 6th of March in New York. There was no drukenness, no riotous disposition, no insolent airs, no rudeness.

The banners bore among other mottoes, these sentences:

We know no caste or color.
The spirit of John Brown still lives.
Liberty and Union, one and inseparable.
Our past the Block, our future the School.
We know no master but ourselves.
We are filling the last ditch.
Our Reply to Slavery—Colored Volunteers.
Free Homes, Free Schools, One Country and One Flag.
We are on the way to Bunker Hill.
Bunker Hill and Fort Sumter; both Shelter the Freedmen.
*The Heroes of the War:* Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Farragut, Dahlgren, Porter, Perry, The Privates.
*The Heroes of Humanity:* Butler, Chase, Garrison, Douglass, Greeley, Beecher.
Massachusetts Greets South Carolina as a Child Redeemed. —*Wendell Phillips.*
Freedom with Poverty, rather than Slavery with Luxury. We can respect the Purity of the Ballot-Box.

The great procession took one hour and twenty minutes to pass any point. On its return to the citadel where a stand was prepared for Gen. Saxton and the other speakers, there were at least 10,000 persons assembled. There were 4,200 men in the procession by count, exclusive of the military, the women and the children.

A shower of rain, which began to fall as the procession arrived at the citadel, rendered it expedient to postpone a speech.

Rev. Mr. French led in singing a doxology, and the great assembly dispersed in an orderly manner after enthusiastic and prolonged cheers for Gen. Saxton, the Yankees, the Star Spangled Banner, and a final, tumultuous and long continued three times three for Abraham Lincoln.

The fear so lately expressed that an outpouring of the colored people would produce a riot is thus shown to be unfounded.

"Fear the slave who breaks his chain,
Free the slave and fears are vain,"

is a truth which these modern Rip Van Winkles who take the oath here and think that they are Union men, do not yet begin to suspect—far less to believe.

A FLORAL GIFT.

Just before the procession broke up, 15 colored women presented Gen. and Mrs. Saxton with beautiful bouquets and this address:

"*Gen. Saxton:* The duty of presenting to you this simple memento has devolved upon us; but how can we acquit ourselves with justice to our companions when the feeble medium of language can so inadequately convey the ardent dictates of the heart. Sir, we have regarded with fond satisfaction the strenuous exertions which have been successfully made for the freedom and promotion of our race—a cause for which you have so nobly battled. To you, then, sir, do we acknowledge our indebtedness, with others who have so nobly done their duty, and whom we can never repay, save by the lasting gratitude of fraternal love which shall ever exist toward you and them. 'Tis no common tie which unites us. Years may pass, and our hearts, now thrilling with the enthusiastic ardor of youth, may be borne down by the relentless weight of sorrow and care; time's varied changes may trace deep furrows upon your now unshaded brow, but the sweet recollections of the events of these days shall ever send a thrill of joy to your heart. We commend, sir, to you these little gifts as tributes from the daughters of Carolina. May they remain as pure as the honor of them into whose hands they are consigned. And in after years, while traversing the rough pathway of life, as the reminiscences of the past steal slowly over your mind and memory, may they recall the familiar countenances of those who may have long since passed away in the dreamless repose of death. And while stirred with the emotions of sad regrets, repress not the rising tear-drops which for a moment may glisten in manhood's eye, but let them flow in tranquility and calmness, as a sacred tribute to the memory of those whose names are subscribed within. That the blessings of the God of Battles may crown you with ultimate success is the prayer of all true and loyal daughters of South Carolina."

## HOW THE SOLDIERS ARE BURIED.

WHEN a soldier dies, his body is washed, enshrouded in a clean shirt and drawers, and with naked hands and feet is carried on a stretcher by the nurses to the dead-house and put in a plain red coffin. The soldier's name, company and regiment are painted on the under side of the coffin lid, to identify the deceased in case of exhuming. At the hour appointed, the escorts, drum corps, dead-cart, pall bearers, and the chaplain, all being assembled, the funeral begins by placing the encoffined dead in the cart, each one receiving the regular dead salute, of a three-fold rapping of the drums, sometimes eight or ten, and the shouldering and presenting of arms by the escort. We usually take five at a load, all covered over with the glorious old flag they died to honor and defend. All ready, with a slow step, graced with the solemn notes of the "Dead March," of fife and drum, we march to the graveyard and with solemn silence consign them to the tomb. When the last coffin is let down, all baring their heads, the chaplain reads an appropriate passage of Scripture, makes a few remarks, often speaking of the dying words and requests of the deceased, and closes with prayer, and the escort having fired three volleys over their graves, we leave them. Retiring, the band plays a lively, patriotic air, and the solemn scene is all over, usually without a tear being shed, except when a relative is present. The graveyard at Hampton, where all the soldiers who have died in divisions 1, 2 and 4, of this general hospital, now contains some 1,600 graves, is kept very neat and clean. A plain headboard, with the name, company and regiment of each soldier, and the date of his death, marks the spot where his mortal remains lie. For the information of friends at home, we state that to exhume a body you must get a metallic case and a permit from Dr. E. McClellan, Surgeon in charge, which can be done by applying by letter at his office here, and if you don't wish to come down, he will have the body exhumed and sent home by express. The cost of case and exhuming is $30. A great many bodies have been taken up this Fall. They go away daily, but not half as fast as we put them there. Such a graveyard presents a solemn sight. Here lie the old, the young, the educated, the rich and the poor patriotic soldiers. The father recently exhumed the remains of his son, who left a fortune of $50,000, but who sacrificed his life for his country. Preparations are making to neatly inclose this large depository of the patriotic dead.—*Letter from Fortress Monroe.*

## THE FIRST VIOLETS.

BY SIR E. B. LYTTON.

Who that has loved knows not the tender tale,
Which flowers reveal when lips are coy to tell?
Whose youth has paused not, dreaming in the vale,
Where the rich violets dwell?

Lo, where they shrink along the lonely brake,
Under the lifeless, melancholy tree,
Not yet the cuckoo sings, nor glides the snake,
Nor wild thyme lures the bee.

Yet at their sight and scent entranced and thrilled,
All June seems golden in the April skies,
How sweet the days we yearn for, till fulfilled!
O distant Paradise!

Dear land to which Desire for ever flies,
Time doth no Present to the grasp allow;
Say, in the fixed eternal shall we seize
At last the fleeting Now?

Dream not of days to come, of that unknown
Whither hope wanders (maze without a clue);
Give their true witchery to the flowers—thine own
Youth in their youth renew.

Avarice! remember when the cowslips gold
Lured and yet lost its glitter in the grasp;
Do thy hoards glad thee more than those of old?
*Those* withered in thy clasp.

From *these* the hand falls palsied—it was THEN
That thou wert rich; thy coffers are a lie!
Alas, poor fool! joy is the wealth of men
And bare their poverty.

Come, foiled Ambition! what hast thou desired?
Empire and power?—O wanderer tempest tost!
These once were thine, when life's gay spring inspired
Thy soul with glories lost.

Let the flowers charm thee to the jocund prime.
When o'er the stars rapt fancy, traced the chart;
Thou hadst an angel's powers in that blessed time,
Thy real human heart!

Hark! hark! again the tread of bashful feet!
Hark! the boughs rustling round the trysting place!
Let air again with one dear breath be sweet,
Earth fair with one dear face!

Brief lived first flower, first love! the hours steal on,
To prank the world in Summer's pomp of hue;
But what shall flaunt beneath a fiercer sun
Worth what we lose in you?

Oft by a flower, a leaf in some loved book
We mark the lines which charm us most. Retrace
Thy life, recall its loveliest passage; look,
*Dead violets mark the place!*

## A BLACK LADY.

IT was a wet, disagreeable day, the sidewalks were muddy and slippery, the rain fell ceaselessly, and people had a forlorn and uncomfortable look as they plodded along the streets. I was going a long way out of town, and as usual settled myself for a ride in a street car. We made slow progress, for the rain sent many fugitives to seek our shelter, and everybody seemed to feel that everybody else was in the way as one after another with dripping umbrella, muddy boots, or worse, voluminous draggled skirts, came crowding past, vainly looking for a seat. These street cars are fine places for the study of human nature, and I always improve my time, in a quiet way, of course, believing that trifles indicate character as well as great actions, although I do get deceived sometimes when trifling acts are affected and not spontaneous, as for instance, when Jones yields his seat very gracefully to a charming young lady but as I happen to know, keeps the most comfortable chair at home notwithstanding his wife or mother may be very tired and need it more. After a while we got rid of a part of our passengers, and were becoming quite comfortable and reconciled to our accomodations. Ring, went the bell and we stopped again. "Got a seat here for an old woman?" we heard a cheery voice say, and then a round, black face looked in at the door, and we saw a jolly old negro woman, for it was in Boston where many labor under the delusion that negroes have souls, and that a black person is as good as anybody. This one was about sixty years old, I thought, for it puzzles me to count the years on a black face, but her heart was young, I am sure, and, notwithstanding her features were of an ebony hue they were as bright and sunny as a Spring morning. She was neatly dressed, far better than some fine ladies in the car who began to shrink a little in anticipation of her passing them to the only vacant seat by the opposite door. The old lady looked smilingly through the car no one moved, in fact there was hardly time, for she turned quickly and tapping the conductor's arm said "Bless your heart, honey, I couldn't think of crowding past all these nice ladies, I in my wet dress just you wait a bit and I'll run around outside" and stepping quickly down, out she went into the rain and the deep mud again, and soon her happy face was at the other door, and with a satisfied look she took her well-earned seat. I think every one was touched by her kind consideration, for a low buzz of approval went through the car, and many pleasant looks were given her, and two openly thanked her. As for me, I felt rebuked. I thought this poor, old, black woman had given a beautiful lesson, and I took it home, and thanked her in my heart. I thought of the many white ladies whom I had seen hustling and crowding for the best seat, careless of everybody's comfort but their own, taking seats from gentlemen as a matter of course without even rendering simple thanks, and I said surely they might learn a lesson from this old, black lady, for lady she certainly was.—*Boston Recorder.*

## A NOBLE SOUTHERN UNION MAN.

THE following letter is from an officer of a Massachusetts regiment, now on staff duty in Charleston, and is dated Hilton Head, March 14th:

"DEAR FATHER: A man died in Charleston about eight months ago, whose memory deserves to be cherished by every one interested in the issue of the war. His name was Nilson Mitchell, a lawyer by profession, and, from what I can learn, he and two or three others constituted the whole loyal force of the city. Mitchell was an anti-slavery man by conviction, and from the moment Sumter first opened fire upon us, he never ceased to talk against the institution that caused the war. Twice he was sentenced by secret commission to be hung, but each time he got out of his danger, because the authorities could get no one to do their secret work. They were afraid to make their counsels public, because he was a man universally respected for his integrity, and so they tried and condemned him in secret.

After our black men were taken prisoners, a military court was convened to try them. After a long trial it was concluded that the military had no jurisdiction in their cases, and the matter was handed over to the civil authorities. When this was done Nelson Mitchell volunteered to be their counsel, and in face of a defiant mob he daily went to the court house and spoke his mind. After great toil and delay Mitchell carried his point and by his eloquence and energy fairly drove this wretched South Carolina jury to do justice. They decided that the case was one belonging to the military jurisdiction, each party shoving the responsibility off upon the other, until finally the men were released from danger and practically regarded as prisoners-of-war. Dr. Mackey—one of the same stamp of men—told me that Mitchell always had the star and stripes unfurled in his house and taught all inmates to show it homage.

Well, this noble man died eight months since, and on the day of his death his house was struck by one of our shells. His name ought to be forever kept in memory by the blacks especially, and by all who have an interest in their redemption. He did more for them—so far as actual courage is concerned—than almost anyone else, and his name ought not to die with him. I have learned these facts from ample testimony of intelligent negroes and mulattoes, who speak of him with the utmost affection. He died in great poverty, leaving two sons who had been trained in his principles, to inherit it. I write these things to you because they ought to be publicly known.

General Anderson is going to raise the flag on old Sumter, and of course there will be a great shindy here. I wish you could be here to join in it. I never go to Sumter without feeling the profoundest exhilaration. It is the kernel of the entire nut, and when one is in it he feels that the whole game is up. The Charleston and Savannah people acknowledge the loss of that fort to have been the heaviest moral loss they have sustained. They have always insisted that there the last gun was to be fired.

The suffering and desolation of Charleston is indescribable. If you could see what the proud people are reduced to, you could not help pitying then somewhat. The best people among them are entirely penniless; they look like the poor and talk like the poor. They are degraded and demoralized beyond measure. It is the most thoroughly forsaken-looking place you can imagine. It reminds me when I go through the streets of some old doomed city whereon "the wrath of God" eternally rests.

*March 19th.*—We all went down to Savannah yesterday to inspect the fortifications and artillery, and on coming back to Gen. Grover's headquarters, we met Col. Hallowell's Brigade marching through the city to be reviewed by Gen. Williams. After the review was over, Captain Baker, a regular officer and Inspector-General of the Division, told me "that they knocked spots out of the white troops." He said that the One Hundred and Second U. S. C. T. was the best regiment he ever inspected. The Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, he said, looked remarkably well, but they did not come up to the One Hundred-and Second in equipments. And no wonder, for the Fifty-Fourth have had such sharp work put upon them, the last campaign, that their equipments are nearly all worn out or threadbare. Yours, ——"
—*Boston Transcript.*

# Advertisements.


DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICAL

PINEAPPLE CIDER

IS A PREVENTIVE OF SICKNESS.

The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years, convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes,

OLD AND YOUNG.

It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

SAVE MILLIONS

from being sick. Is it not better to pay three dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctor's bills, and as much more for the loss of time, and inconvenience of being sick?

To prevent sickness, use as follows:

Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night.

It will increase the strength, and give

VIGOR AND ACTION

to the system.

A celebrated New York Merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he has gained ten Pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it proved an entire

PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

THIS WONDERFUL PREPARATION

will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, etc., etc.—its soothing and quieting effect on the system is most astonishing.

Dr. Wilcox, an eminent physician, employed it with great success in treating Fevers, Dyspepsia, Nervous Affections, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, Palpitation of the Heart, Chronic Diarrhœa, Colic Dysentery, and Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels. It is also particularly recommended by physicians to delicate females, and as an excellent remedy for Enfeebled Digestion, Want of Appetite, Scrotula, Nephritic Affections, Rheumatism, etc., etc. It never fails to relieve Nervous Tremor, Wakefulness, Disturbed Sleep, etc. American Ladies have used this article with great success to heighten their color and beauty.

It imparts cheerfulness to the disposition, and brilliancy to the complexion.

To Travellers, especially, it is of inestimable value, and should be provided as a medicine for every journey in which the water is likely to vary in quality and tendency.

Persons residing in any part of the country may adopt it with the utmost confidence as a timely, efficacious restorative.

PRICES:

THREE DOLLARS PER BOTTLE (FULL QUART).
TWO DOLLARS " (FULL PINT).
ONE DOLLAR " (FULL HALF-PINT).

1 Quart bottle, 2 Pint bottles, or 4 Half-pint bottles sent free by express on receipt of price. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

B. T. BABBITT, Sole Agent, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72 and 74 Washington st., N. Y. 29–6mo.

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS.

*COFFEE! COFFEE!! COFFEE!!!*

THE EAST INDIA COFFEE CO.

154 READE STREET (three doors from Greenwich Street), N. Y.

Call universal attention to their

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,

ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price; and also that

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years, can use

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

three times a day without injury, it being entirely free from those properties that produce nervous excitement.

Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE.

I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."

The PRINCIPAL of the NEW YORK EYE INFIRMARY says: "I direct all the patients of our institution to use exclusively

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,

and would not be without it on any account."

The Rev. C. LARUE, an eminent clergyman of the M. E. Church, now stationed at Halsey street, Newark, says of

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE:

"I have used it nearly a year in my family, and find it produces no ache of the head or nervous irritation, as in the case of all other Coffees. It is exceedingly pleasant, and I cordially recommend it to all clergymen and their families."

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE

is used daily by the families of Bishop Ames, Bishop Baker, and many of the most distinguished clergymen and professional men in the country.

*BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS!*

and be sure that the packages are labelled

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,

154 READE STREET, NEW YORK,

as there are numerous counterfeits afloat under the name of "Genuine East India Coffee," "Original East India Coffee," etc., put forth by impostors to deceive the unwary.

In 1 lb. packages, and in boxes of 36, 60 and 100 lbs., for Grocers and large Consumers. *Sold by Grocers generally.*

WHOLESALE AGENTS, to whom Western Grocers may send their orders: S. N. Callender, Buffalo; James Mills, Pittsburg; Gordon, McMillan & Co., Cleveland; Aaron A. Colter & Co., Cincinnati; J. & J. W. Bunn, Springfield, Ill.; Sawyer & Starrett, Indianapolis.

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VIZ.

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5 BLACKWOOD'S EDIBURGH MAGAZINE (Tory).

The American Publishers continue to reprint the above-named periodicals, but as the cost of printing has *doubled*, the price of paper nearly *trebled*, and taxes, duties, licenses, etc., largely increased, they are compelled to advance their terms as follows:

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THE FOUR REVIEWS FOR 1863.

A few copies of the above remain on hand, and will be sold at $5 for the whole four, or $2 for any one.

We also Publish the

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By HENRY STEPHENS of Edinburgh and the late J. P. NORTON, of Yale College. 2 vols. Royal Octavo, 1,600 pages and numerous Engravings. PRICE.—$7, for the two volumes. By Mail $8.

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It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the Lock or Shuttle Stitch, which will neither rip nor ravel, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither cam nor cog-wheel, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

No. 1, Family Machine, with Hemmer, Feller and Braider, $60
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One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction!

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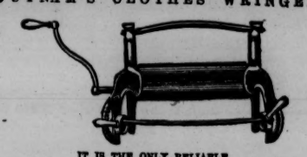

IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE

SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the best Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That iron well galvanised *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb-screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split:*
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out.*
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen: I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydise or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.

Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanising business enables me to endorse the above statement in *all particulars.*

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NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have *any,* to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.

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PRICES, $8, $9, and $10.

Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.

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GROVESTEEN & CO.,

PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,

499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over-strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

TERMS—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP

Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July 1, 1863.*

"J. D. WEST & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 150 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. DUNLAP MANUFACTURING CO."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern, can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a Force and Lift pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"GREAT NECK, L. I., 1860.

"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.

"M. B. MCILVAIN."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerf